The New
REPUBLIC

December 29, 1941

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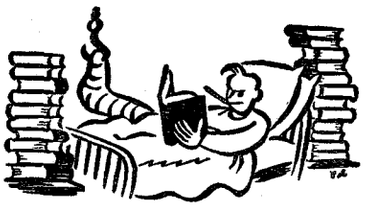

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Is Germany Cracking?

Hitler's dismissal of von Brauchitsch and his assumption of command of the army, combined with the warnings by Goebbels that this is going to be a long, hard war in which Germany may not always be top dog, have started rumors that Germany is cracking and speculations that she may not be able to carry on a major campaign this winter.

That something had to be done about morale in the Reich is not a surprise. The people had accepted the war but have never been enthusiastic about it; reliable reports indicate that they are suffering from weariness under the long strain and have been shocked by the terrific losses on the eastern front. Combine these influences with the obvious facts that the promises to win this year are unfulfilled, the campaign against the Soviet Union has failed, costly defeats have been suffered in Africa and the United States has entered the war, and you have sufficient explanation for the shift in command and the efforts to prepare opinion for more hardships.

We must not, however, allow these developments to influence our vigor in prosecution of the war. It is just as true as when Adam Smith said it a century and a half ago that "there is a lot of ruin in a nation." Hitler's production of weapons is still superior to that of the Allies, and he is in command of millions of well trained effectives. The nearer to desperation he is, the harder he will try to retrieve his fortunes. Even if Germany were cracking it would be our cue to deal her the strongest possible blows.

Conscripting a Nation

The mistakes made in drafting an army of 2,000,000 men, between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-eight, cannot be repeated in drafting one of 6,000,000 or more, between twenty and forty-four. There is now far more danger of taking for military service those who are indispensable in civilian life. There is also greater danger that persons with special skills will not be sifted into the appropriate military duties. It was relatively harmless, when the selectees were in the younger years and scattered thinly throughout the population, to pick a man here and there who might better have been left at home, or not to make the best use of the men taken. Now more care must be exercised. It is a question whether, under these circumstances, local draft boards should be given as wide a discretion as they have had heretofore.

One point at which much better performance is necessary is in the medical examination of selectees, especially on the psychiatric side. Even epileptics and psychotics have not, in some cases, been sifted out. And it is reported that hospitals are rapidly filling up with severe cases of neuroses from the camps, susceptibility to which might have been discovered through relatively brief examination by trained psychiatrists. Veterans' hospitals have for years harbored many thousands of victims of war neurosis, each of whom, it is estimated, has cost the government an average of $30,000. Prompt attention to this problem is indispensable.

The same cautions apply to any use which may be made of conscription of those above military age.

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Rubber by the Ounce

In view of the interruption of our supply of crude rubber from the Netherlands Indies, strict rationing is the only possible course. But the rationing calls for the utmost possible intelligence, and new sources of supply must be made ready at the earliest moment, if this one is not quickly regained. We still have a hangover from the period when automobiles were regarded as a luxury. As a matter of fact, an America without tires for civilians would be an America with production cut in half. There is, for many millions of workers, no other means of transportation between their homes and their assembly lines. Farmers cannot conduct their business or reach their markets without tires. Nor can doctors see their patients. And rubber is required for hundreds of essential uses, aside from these, of which we seldom think. It is as much a staple of our life as bread or iron.

Unless we are greatly mistaken, rationing of rubber for civilians cannot go on very long without rationing the army and navy as well. For both services would be useless, no matter how well equipped, unless supplies could reach them. The authorities should at once make sure that neither is tying up more of this precious commodity than it actually needs. We could not afford, for instance, to fill great storehouses full of rubber goods, as we did in the last war with shoes, blankets and other supplies, that the army could not possibly use in a decade.

African Questionnaire

As the retreat in Libya continues we watch the names of the German-evacuated coastal towns flick past like the floor numbers in a falling elevator—Bardia, Tobruk, Derna, Apollonia, Bengazi. At such a time we should turn from the fanfare of the headlines to consider the less obvious moves made in the same area by both sides in the past few weeks. The Germans are pouring through Bengazi, presumably headed for Agedabia and Tripoli: this reminds us of the flying column of Imperial troops which, in the opening days of the campaign, struck across the hump of Cyrenaica to El Agheila, some two hundred miles south of Bengazi. Was it sent only to harry Rommel's reinforcements coming from Tripoli, or was it strategically placed with enough force to block just such a retreat as is now in progress? Has it been in contact with the British cruisers and destroyers recently reported by Rome to be present in the Gulf of Sidra? These are questions which will probably be answered soon; there remain others which belong to a more distant future. One concerns the rumor of a few weeks back concerning the Vichy Minister of War's trip to Tunisia. He had been sent there, it was said, to see if French forces along the border of eastern Tunisia were strong enough to delay a British drive to the west until reinforced by the Germans. And if such a plan is in the offing we are left with another question, perhaps the most serious of all: have the British sinkings of Axis supplies in the Mediterranean made it impossible for the Axis to organize a fighting front west of Tripoli without a full-blown drive into Africa via Spain and Gibraltar?

Mexican Relations Get Better

It is of the highest importance that any continuing source of hard feeling between the United States and our Latin American neighbors should be swept away. A few weeks ago, we made an agreement with Mexico which in principle removed one of the most troublesome of these questions, the matter of payment to the American owners of oil and mining properties which were confiscated by Mexico's government under the terms of her constitution. It remains to determine the amounts of money involved.

To this end, President Roosevelt has just appointed Morris Llewellyn Cooke as American expert to coöperate with a Mexican representative in regard to the value of petroleum properties. The choice is an excellent one. Mr. Cooke is a widely known engineer, of broad interests, who has served the government usefully in a whole series of posts going all the way back to the last war. (New Republic readers know him as a frequent contributor to our pages on problems of labor and production.)

The American oil companies are accustomed to put very large valuations on their former properties in Mexico. Figures as high as $400,000,000 are sometimes mentioned. We should not be at all surprised to find, when an examination is made of the books of the companies, which were impounded by the Mexican government at the time the properties were seized, that the actual investment in Mexico is a great deal smaller. Some reports suggest that it may be only 10 or 15 percent as large. In any case, the country can now look forward confidently to an end of this long continuing dispute across the border.

The Martinique Agreement

On the surface the agreement between the United States and Martinique on the West Indian island's neutrality looks like a continuation of the State Department's discredited policy of appeasement. There are, however, some distinctions to be noted. Not the State Department but the Navy Department negotiated the agreement, and one may assume that practical considerations of strategy rather than of dubious diplomacy were uppermost. It should also be noted that Martinique is not directly under Hitler's thumb. Admiral Robert may be a Pétain man, but geography and the American navy put Martinique at our mercy, not Hitler's.

The only alternative to accepting Martinique's neutrality was blockade and an expeditionary force. The

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victory would unquestionably go to us, but in the fighting we would lose men and materials urgently needed elsewhere. Obviously the navy ought to keep a sharp eye on Martinique, a precaution that we hope can be taken for granted. In addition, pressure should be brought for the release of those 250 planes which have been held on the island ever since France collapsed. We need all the planes we can get.

Censorship Arrives

Byron Price, formerly executive news editor of the Associated Press, undertakes a tremendous responsibility in becoming Director of Censorship. He must see to it that as little information as possible that is useful to the enemy is disseminated by the press, the radio, or any other means of communication. At the same time, he must make sure that the American people are not deprived of the information about our war effort on which helpful national self-criticism can be based. It would have been tragic, for example, if the government had tried to conceal indefinitely the amount of damage at Pearl Harbor instead of facing the facts and removing the military commanders in charge of operations at that point. We are told that the new censorship will be partly mandatory and partly voluntary, which should go without saying. The overwhelming majority of all American periodicals, radio stations and other media for communication are eager to do what they can to help their country win the war. Mistakes on both sides are more likely to be caused by overzealousness than anything else. We take it for granted that Mr. Price will welcome fair-minded and reasonable criticism of his activities when and if it seems necessary. The New Republic, for one, will do its best to supply criticism of that type.

Four Years in Three

As in World War I, a number of colleges in various parts of the country have announced plans for speeding up their work. Through summer sessions and other devices, they hope to give four years' work in three. The curricula are also being modified to keep up with the problems that war has brought. These are both moves in the right direction. Long before the war began, the colleges had been criticized for their leisurely tempo, a charge that some of them had met by introducing the four-quarter system. Even though the same members of the faculty and student body are not continuously in residence, there is no good reason why this tremendous physical plant of our educational system should stand idle one-fourth of the time. As things are going, it seems likely that for some time to come a large proportion of the normal body of undergraduates will be in the armed forces of the United States before reaching the customary age for graduation. There is every reason for giving them as much of the entire academic course as is possible, before they go.

Welcome to Washingtonians

New Yorkers visiting Washington these past six months have felt strongly that they were country cousins in the big city. The noise, the confusion, the inability to get a hotel room, the crazy traffic, the packed bars made New Yorkers sigh, "Washington is a fine place to visit, but it's no place to live." Last week the White House reached a similar conclusion and announced that by July, 1942, some 40,000 federal employees are to be sent out of the capital.

An initial batch of 1,400 are to come here, and we extend a somewhat timid hand of friendship. New York is much as it has been for years and years. Except when Mayor LaGuardia goes on the air, we don't hear a great deal about our city's relation to the war. Wall Street at high noon is quieter than Pennsylvania Avenue at midnight. Cabinet members and dollar-a-year men are seldom to be seen in our hotel lobbies. Our autograph-seekers are compelled to put up with a few movie stars straggling in from Hollywood. We are a pastoral people, linked to the capital, the center of things, only by the press and the radio and thus little different from Helena, Montana, or Paducah, Kentucky. But once they get used to the quiet, the Washington refugees may like our little town. The Chamber of Commerce will do its best to make them happy.

Last Week

The traditional holiday observances were something of an anti-climax, since everyone understood perfectly that a new year and a new era had begun on December 7, beating the calendar by three weeks, and that it was a page that would never be turned back. Those who received Torchy Perfume, Triple Threat Glamor Stockings or Readinjacks, the clever Christmas gift for a convalescent if he is recovering from a cold or loves to read in bed, looked upon them with unaccustomed affection, wondering how much that sort of thing would be missed next year. Those who received home-made sweaters which wrapped the back of their necks in three wrinkles of wool and didn't come down to their stomachs in front felt kindly disposed toward them also. To solemnize the new spirit, one former member of the The New Republic's staff came in with a beard, like a lovely red balloon, slightly frayed. Many even experienced a changed attitude toward Christmas cards.

The process of working the new idea of national unity into a recognizable shape went along in the expected manner. Mr. Willkie said sensible things about the necessity of increased production, along with a foolish taunt at the administration for having "spent our substance in public expenditures," instead of building planes, ships and tanks nine years ago. Mr. Willkie, being human, is still thinking about that Southern and Commonwealth affair. Most of his fellow citizens,

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when they think of it, are thankful that the resources of Tennessee power are being expended for public, rather than private advantage. . . . "Heptisax," who writes a Sunday letter for The New York Herald Tribune which expresses the furthest reach of the Republican mind, explained that President Roosevelt's approach to big problems is "political and evasive." He wants FDR to stop playing politics. The official Republican line is apparently to be that anything which does go wrong on land or sea this year is the result of politics.

New Year's Resolutions

AT THE START of the new year we are deep in war. We have felt the losses of war; we recognize that there will be no easy victory. In another two years we may come to rely on our superiority in weapons; today we must rely on strength of spirit as Britain did when she rose to her finest hour.

We cannot turn to hope of initial success. Immediate success may come, but we must not count on it. This year may be one of the hardest of all years to face, not for lack of food or shelter, though we must lack many comforts, but for the lack of any vision of victory which success could bring. Every day our endurance will be tested by doubts and discouragements. We shall see our families broken up, our security destroyed, our friends lost; we shall learn to listen for the bombers at night; we shall come to know what it means to live in fear. At every moment, our courage and our patience will be on trial. As the war sets in, and the going becomes heavy, voices will rise in America to exploit our hardships. They will offer an end to the war by compromise, and though they offer an end, not to the war, but to life itself, their voices will be heard.

In this year many of our men may be scattered throughout the world, fighting wherever democracy fights, relying on our store of common experience to sustain our will. More than ever, we shall need a sense of a binding force; we shall want new rules to live by in wartime. For 1942 The New Republic offers six such rules:

1. *We must never underestimate the enemy.* – Every disaster that has been suffered in this war stems from underestimation of the Axis. France and Britain underestimated Hitler's ambition; so France fell and Britain barely escaped. Russia underestimated the force of the German armies; so Hitler was freed to crush Norway and Greece. We, in turn, underestimated the scope of German strategy; so we were caught unprepared. We and the British underestimated the craft of the Japanese; so today the Pacific is in danger. Still we have not learned the lesson.

We are fighting the cruelest, most ruthless powers on earth. We must meet, with our armed force, the strongest armed force ever created. We must match with our war effort a nation whose organization for war is immensely superior to our own. Never again must we underestimate its power if we look for victory.

2. *We must never tolerate any barrier to our utmost effort.* – Today there are many such barriers—barriers of jealousy and fear of executive power in Congress; of tradition and bureaucracy in the armed forces; of selfish interest in industry; of short-sightedness and incompetence in administration. In all fairness to men whose lives are at stake we cannot afford any longer to tolerate these barriers.

3. *We must never cease to be vigilant.* – Our relations with one another demand that we achieve unity; but it must be formed around ends, not men. We may hope, but we cannot assume, that forces which a few weeks ago acted on a belief in the victory of the Axis are now acting in the service of democracy. For a few hours the weight of the disaster which they have brought upon America, and which itself has united our people, has silenced them. But their voices will rise again. In every corner of America we must watch for them and recognize them.

4. *We must never fear our own people.* – "Confusion, indecision fear—these," Hitler said, "are my weapons." Today we are no longer chained by our indecision; we are ridding ourselves of our confusion; our fear remains, the last weapon in Hitler's hands. Fear the growing power of Russia as Hitler is driven back; fear of our fortunes in America if the Communists over here in turn are strengthened.

That fear is based, not upon the power of the American Communists, but upon fear of our inability in the future to fulfill the hopes of the American people through our democratic institutions. If by our failure those institutions are discredited, then the American people will find their own solutions in their own ways. Once we fear our own people, then all hope of victory dies.

5. *We must never compromise the principles for which we fight.* – These equalitarian and libertarian principles are our weapons of war without which we shall never win. Because the peace that follows victory will be determined not by the principles which we have lived by in the past, but by those which govern our actions at the war's end, they must be kept in force throughout the conflict.

6. *We must never lose faith in ultimate victory.* – For the peoples of all the world, America's entry into war has meant the end of all doubts of the coming victory of democracy. More than we ourselves, they value our incomparable resources. They know that these resources, of youth, of will and of materials are so great that whatever initial mistakes we make, whatever defeats we suffer, we have the power, if we use it, to win the war.

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The Tolan Report

THERE IS NO END to the indirections by which history moves forward. Take as an instance the Tolan Committee, whose report on the defense economy was issued last week. Who has heard of it, or who that has knows clearly what it has been doing? It has been one of the least publicized and least expensive of all the investigating committees of Congress. It has spent a dollar where the Dies Committee has spent ten, and has had a stick of space on an inside page when the Dies Committee has had headlines. Yet in its quiet way it has helped to lay the foundations on which much of our armament program and at least part of our domestic post-war program will have to be built.

It started, after "The Grapes of Wrath" had stirred the country, as a House committee on the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. It held public hearings last year and this, with testimony occupying eleven volumes, organized by the committee's able staff director, Robert K. Lamb. It issued its report in April, 1941. From this testimony and report future scholars and commentators on the America of the thirties will in all likelihood draw heavily. In recent months, with the creation of new problems by the armament effort, the committee's researches have taken a different turn. It began to look into the migration problems arising from the defense economy. And as a phase of that inquiry it broadened its scope and held hearings on the "full utilization of America's industrial capacity and labor supply in the war effort." We published in our columns last week a summary of the testimony at those hearings by Morris L. Cooke, S. T. Henry, H. S. Person and Alex Taub. The recent report distils the recommendations from the hearings as a whole.

To start with, the report is realistic in its premises about the nature of total war and about its economic imperatives. It sees that the single-mindedness of the Nazi regime has harnessed the resources of Germany and Occupied Europe to the one objective of crushing the democracies and setting up a world imperium. And it sees also that unless we can achieve a single-mindedness of our own in war production, our ideas, no matter how valid, will be useless weapons.

For another thing, the report is realistic in its factual description of how tragically our present pace of war production falls short of the requirements of any sort of victory program. Witness after witness testified that there are efficient plants producing for civilian needs that could be turned to war production, that other plants have been shut down completely and are producing neither for civilian nor for war needs. There was testimony showing that the giant corporations have war contracts which, with their present facilities, will take them many years to fulfill. Meanwhile the facilities of numberless small firms are idle. There was testimony that in the automobile industry especially there were vast potentials for the conversion of productive capacity to war purposes which had not been tapped.

What remains is a program of ways and means. And the problems here are threefold. One is administrative, and with that the committee report deals. It recommends a unified economic command over war production, to be entrusted to an over-all civilian board which would control the procurement of supplies, find out just what our total machine capacity is, have the power to compel the "bits and pieces" system of subcontracting, and have the authority, finally, to convert facilities of civilian production in part or wholly into war production.

The second problem is one of staffing. With that the committee report does not deal to any extent. Nevertheless it is important, as Michael Straight's article on Jesse Jones elsewhere in this issue testifies. Jesse Jones is a powerful individual in himself. He is also a symbol. There are many Jesse Joneses in command of our economic effort who must be replaced.

The final problem is one of power. We don't mean constitutional power. The President has an explicit grant of constitutional power from Congress to cover this, and it is even possible that he had the power before the grant, in his role of Commander-in-Chief. We mean economic and social power. To get an all-out war effort from an economic machine that has thus far run not on the basis of full employment of resources and capacity and labor, but on the basis of corporate profits, is a huge assignment. The men who have to be displaced are deeply entrenched. So also are the habits of mind and action that have to be scrapped. Congress is still a prisoner of those same habits, and will fight hard to retain them. The press and the radio are also on their side. It will be a long struggle and a not very merry one.

What United Command Means

NEARLY EVERYONE AGREES that for successful prosecution of the war against the Axis, the forces of the Allies must be welded into a coördinated whole. There must be common strategy and unified action. But few understand what, specifically, may be involved in these general phrases.

At one extreme it may mean only a loose agreement, dividing responsibilities—as, for instance, that Russia would keep Hitler busy while Britain safeguarded the Near East. At the other extreme it might mean the appointment of a world generalissimo, with power to issue orders from hour to hour to the military units of all anti-Axis nations. The more it means, the more difficult will be the task of creating it and operating it effectively. General staffs and high commands are not organized overnight; years of study and experience

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are usually required to render them more a help than a hindrance. And to direct war on a worldwide scale raises in a more acute form than ever the great problem of administration—how to combine a sufficient degree of centralization to assure the utmost benefits of planning with a sufficient degree of decentralization to permit flexibility and efficiency in execution.

First of all it may be asserted that something more is needed than occasional meetings of the responsible chiefs, to agree on general courses of action for ensuing periods of months. That, we may assume, is the form of coöperation which has hitherto existed. Before the United States entered the war it may have worked as well as could be expected in coördinating our production and lease-lend activities with the needs of Britain, the Soviet Union and China. But it left the field open for much debate as to what Britain could or should do to relieve German pressure on Russia. It lacked flexibility as the fighting changed reasonable anticipation—which it must do from week to week and sometimes from day to day. And it is certainly inadequate for a situation in which all the Allies are engaged against the enemy in the Far East, and will need to dispose their forces to the best advantage on this side of the world as well, perhaps on three or four main points simultaneously. There must be an agency in continuous operation, planning now for what will happen months and years ahead, and ready to change plans at a moment's notice.

Next, it would appear that the joint agency should include what is known in military language as both staff and line. The staff has no authority in the field, but compiles information, works out problems and does advance planning. The line makes decisions and issues orders. It would be possible to imagine a united command that performed one of these functions without the other. That is, there might be a joint General Staff to sift information and prepare recommendations which would be presented to the Commanders-in-Chief of the several nations, who would then try to agree on what to do; or there might be a Supreme War Council to decide on action, which depended for advice on the several national General Staffs. Probably a central agency would do better if it included both functions.

Within the scope of the united command should come, not merely disposition of the land, sea and air forces, but all the other things necessary in total war. Shipping, economic controls of foreign trade, agencies of production, propaganda and all the other activities now mobilized about the military effort must be geared to it. This does not mean that the national heads of all these agencies must be members of the joint command; that would make it unwieldy. But its staff work must be so organized as to assign them all their appropriate tasks, after making sure that they are capable of fulfilling them. Thus, an expeditionary force could not be dispatched without making sure of the mobilization of enough shipping to carry and sustain it, of the materials to support it, and of the preparatory or accompanying political action that would be desirable.

Though continuously in operation, and ready to make rapid changes in plans, the Allied High Command cannot attempt detailed direction of operations in specific areas. Once general plans are laid, and forces are gathered, those on the ground must assume the responsibility for executing the tasks assigned to them. A world command can successfully operate only in the area of grand strategy, leaving a good deal of freedom for initiative within the main outlines of the scheme. The several High Commands are already familiar with this need for decentralized responsibility in action.

This does not mean, however, that responsibility for specific areas can in all cases be assigned to the troops and ships of a single nation. It may be best to do so near the several national boundaries; we should not wish the Russians to delegate to any coalition their task of defending their front with Germany, or the British to relinquish command of their forces prepared against invasion. But in the Pacific area and very possibly elsewhere, the forces of several of the Allies will be engaged at the same time. In such cases there must be a unified command for the area of operations. In specific areas like this, unity of command may approach the extreme limit of centralization, and involve the appointment of a generalissimo, as with Marshal Foch in the last war.

In short, coördination on the several levels, from the highest to the lowest, ought to be undertaken as nearly as possible as if the Allies were a single nation. Even a single nation cannot centralize every activity covering a large area and still remain effective. But jealousies and problems of prestige should not affect the military decisions.

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A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, STARK YOUNG

Managing Editor: HERBERT LYONS JR.

Washington Editor: MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: NIGEL DENNIS, BYRON DEXTER, OTIS FERGUSON, ELIZABETH HULING

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, JULIAN HUXLEY, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, R. G. TUGWELL

Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

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Jesse Jones, Bottleneck

OUR COMMANDING OFFICERS IN THE PACIFIC have suffered a heavy defeat, and a commission of inquiry has left to determine the guilt of these men in bringing disaster upon America by failing, at a crucial moment, to be on the alert.

Good. But we need at once to undertake another investigation in Washington to determine the guilt of men who, for two crucial years in our history, have never been on the alert. They are the commanding officers of our armaments program and, if the results of their failure are less spectacular than sunken ships, they may ultimately be no less costly in American lives.

We should include in our investigation the OPM and the procurement divisions of the War Department; but we should begin with the great raw-material monopolies and their friend, Jesse Jones. The charge that our investigation would bring against Mr. Jones would be that he has arrogated to himself all power over the planning and construction of new factories and plants producing for the war effort and that this power has been misused.

Why, it should be asked, was a banker who knew nothing of the workings of war industry given control of this vital part of the victory effort? The answer is that Jones was not given the control. He just took it.

In the second reorganization of the government in 1939, Mr. Jones was kicked upstairs into the position of Federal Loan Administrator in order that the operating tasks of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation might be placed in the hands of men whose vision extended beyond conceptions of the collateral required for financing extensions to the sewage system of Houston, Texas. Mr. Jones's successor as chairman of the RFC, Emil Schram, undertook at once to meet the broad problems created by the war. Mr. Schram quickly organized corporations to purchase stockpiles of strategic raw materials, and, by taking the initiative, placed the RFC in the center of the defense program.

Early in 1940, before the defense program had even begun, one of Mr. Schram's most far-sighted assistants, Clifford Durr, realized that the construction of new arms factories was the first essential of defense production. Mr. Durr understood that the War Department could not, with its limited appropriations, finance the new arms factories and that, if the manufacturers were forced to resort to the banks for financing, long delays would follow and high interest rates would greatly increase the costs of the arms program. With Mr. Schram's aid, Mr. Durr organized, in July, 1940, the Defense Plant Corporation as a subsidiary of the RFC, and prepared a standard contract by which the DPC would construct new factories and lease them to the manufacturers with an option for renewal.

For three months, the DPC battled for its existence against the combined opposition of William Knudsen and the War Department. It was at the insistence of the manufacturers themselves, who saw in the DPC contract the fairest and quickest means of obtaining production, that the opposition was broken in November, 1940. By the following January, the DPC had financed $1,000,000,000 worth of new factories and had announced plans for the immediate financing of $9,000,000,000 more. The work of the DPC emerged as the outstanding achievement of the defense program and, in the absence of any leadership on the part of the War Department or the OPM, it became one of the most responsible of all defense agencies. The plans for new ordnance and aircraft factories were prepared by the DPC, and in the case of raw materials, where the War Department accepted no responsibility and the OPM actively opposed expansion, the DPC assumed control of the entire program. Under Schram and Durr, it fought the monopoly representatives of the OPM, prepared its own excellent plans for new plants and employed its own engineers to construct them.

At first, Jesse Jones passively opposed the DPC, refusing to give any publicity to its contract service. But last January, when the DPC won the highest praise of the War Department, the Texas banker realized that Emil Schram's importance as president of the DPC was completely overshadowing his own. Thirsting for power, he undertook to drive out Mr. Schram and to recapture the RFC and its subsidiaries. With the aid of his protégés, Sam Husbands and Howard Klossner, two of the directors of the RFC, and Harry Mulligan, its treasurer, Jones undermined Schram's authority and succeeded in making his position intolerable. In July, 1941, Mr. Schram finally abandoned the struggle and left Washington to become president of the New York Stock Exchange. Three months later, after a hopeless battle, Mr. Durr followed. Jones inherited the most promising of all defense agencies, and with it control of the expansion program.

If an immediate reason is required for the investigation of Jesse Jones, then it exists in the order, issued this week by the SPAB, that no more rubber will be available for civilians. Doctors and some defense workers will be able to obtain new tires, but, for lack of them, all other civilians will have to curtail their driving. There may be a severe shortage of wholesale trucks delivering food to the cities. For this major defeat, we must thank Jesse Jones.

When war was declared, Schram and the rubber manufacturers fully understood the dangers of relying upon the source of supply in the Far East, well within the war zone of a potential enemy. Extensive experi-

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ments in synthetic-rubber production were carried out, and in July, 1940, Mr. Schram concluded negotiations with a Goodrich Rubber-Phillips Petroleum combine, by which the RFC would construct, and the combine operate, a synthetic-rubber plant with a capacity of 100,000 tons a year, or about one-eighth of total consumption. Mr. Schram realized that the cost of producing synthetic rubber was nearly twice that of natural rubber; he maintained that even if the plant were never operated, it would be worth many times its cost as a vital reserve.

A contract was prepared and approved by the National Defense Advisory Commission. It was about to be signed, when Jones intervened. As head of the Federal Loan Agency, he had no legal authority to interfere with the contract; he protested so strongly, however, on the grounds that sound business practice prohibited the construction of a subsidized rubber plant, that the contract was killed. Schram then left and, as a result of Jones's opposition, no further action was taken until May, 1941. Then, under pressure from the OPM, Jones agreed to finance the construction of four pilot plants to provide a total production of not more than 10,000 tons of rubber a year. As the direct consequence, we have no rubber for civilians today.

From the rubber program of the DPC, Jones moved to the aluminum program. The program worked out by the DPC broke the monopoly of Alcoa and provided for full expansion. Jones tore it up. He conferred privately with Arthur Davis, chairman of the board of directors of Alcoa, and after seven weeks concluded an astonishing deal. He perpetuated Alcoa's monopoly by handing over to it one huge aluminum plant and, in addition, the four new West Coast fabricating plants promised to independent firms. He cost the nation millions of dollars by providing that Alcoa might charge the government exorbitant prices for the aluminum produced in the government's own plants. When the emergency ended, Alcoa was to be free to shut down the government plants and to continue to operate its own. The government could neither determine the price of aluminum, nor the amount produced, nor could it recover its losses in any way.

Jones was proud of his deal. "I got to talking about the partnership of the government and Alcoa," he told his associates, "and they seemed to like the idea." Secretary Ickes had other views about the partnership. "Dear Jesse," he wrote, "instead of making this contract upon a basis which would ensure us an adequate supply of aluminum at a reasonable price, you have made the Defense Plant Corporation a partner in the enterprise and a participant in the toll which it exacts from the other agencies of the government and the people." When Thurman Arnold saw the contract, he cried, "Good Lord! It's illegal as hell!"

Jones moved on to magnesium. After a year of costly delay, caused by the OPM and the War Department, the DPC had, in May, 1941, prepared contracts for new plants for four magnesium-fabricating companies. Again under the influence of Alcoa, whose subsidiary, the Dow Company, feared competition, Mr. Jones moved in and destroyed the contracts. He insisted that the independent companies should not have the option of purchase and that they should be allowed to operate only on a management-fee basis. Another concern which was producing magnesium by a new process was held up until Jesse decided whether the process was fully proved. Only after six months was the first of the new contracts signed. Two are still unsigned today.

From magnesium, Jones moved into steel. The OPM had authorized an expansion of 10,000,000 tons in steel capacity, and the DPC had prepared a series of standard contracts for the new steel plants. Jones threw them out and entered into new negotiations with Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel. Bethlehem was notoriously the most selfish of all steel corporations. Jones accepted, almost without question, the contract which Mr. Grace submitted to him. A new plant was to be built on Bethlehem land and leased for a period of thirty-five years, during which Bethlehem's payments would be fixed by the rate of operations of the plant, which it alone determined. The plant, costing $55,000,000, was practically an outright gift.

But the damage which Jones has done is not simply the loss which the government has suffered. By abandoning the standard contracts which almost all manufacturers had accepted, and horsetrading with all the mavericks, Jones has undermined the value of all DPC contracts. Today, many manufacturers are deliberately delaying negotiations to squeeze Uncle Jesse for the extra war profits.

So Jones captured and ruined the best of the defense agencies. The momentum which Schram and Durr put into the DPC still carries the expansion program forward, but the DPC's drive and quickness in action are gone. Today, thanks to Jones, endless negotiations and the perpetuation of monopoly are the guiding rules of the expansion program; the lack of strategic raw materials, always the bottleneck in the arms program, is more severe than ever. For Jones has done more than block the production of aluminum, magnesium, copper, steel and hydro-electric power: even when he succeeds in his horsetrading, he makes no attempt to speed up the construction of new plants. The result is that all schedules fall behind.

If men like Jesse Jones remain in power, the tragic losses of Hawaii will grow insignificant beside production disasters. The power of procurement must at once be placed in a responsible production authority. Jones's influence survives only by a myth—the myth of the invincibility of the sound business approach. It is a catastrophic myth. If we are ruled by it, we cannot win.

Washington MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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Moscow and Pearl Harbor

ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT the military situation is now at its most favorable for the Allies. For the first time the initiative everywhere has passed to the Red Army. For the first time Hitler is suffering rather than profiting from the war.

The victory before Moscow is more than a local success gained by the Red Army. The central front is the most important sector of the Russian theatre and it is there that the greatest German force is assembled. Four of the five German tank armies—those of Generals Hoepner, Reinhart, Hoth and Guderian—are there. At least 50 percent of all the German effectives on the Russian front are concentrated on the central sector.

The German army has lost two great battles for Moscow. The first lasted from October 1 to 25, the second from November 16 to December 4. The second offensive was not planned on such a grand scale as the first. Yet it was executed with tenacity and a great concentration of forces and had the advantage of opening at a point relatively near Moscow. The design of the first Moscow offensive was broad envelopment of the capital from Kalinin to Orel, over a semicircle more than three hundred miles across. Operations were conducted along the lines of a furious war of movement.

The second offensive aimed at closer encirclement of Moscow between Klin and Serpukhov, over a semicircle approximately one hundred miles across, with parallel break-through operations south of Tula. The Russian counter-offensive not only halted the Germans but hurled them back. The counter-offensive was waged as a surprise maneuver on the wings of the enemy army and was marked by considerable striking power.

Since the invasion began, the German offensives on the Russian front have been waged almost continuously, with time taken out only for further preparations. Now they have passed their climax and reached their limits. This may mean the turning-point in the whole campaign. The German war plan on the Russian front has failed. "Surprise and speed are the outstanding characteristics of German tactics in all the campaigns of this war," wrote General Paul Hasse, one of the leading Nazi commanders, speaking of the German war plan against the Red Army. But surprise and speed no longer win on the Russian front. In the battle of Smolensk, German blitzkrieg—the strategy of swift decision in mobile warfare—was canceled out. Now, in the two battles for Moscow, mobile warfare itself, the basis of German operative skill and strategy, has been halted and canceled out.

According to the Nazi war plan, operations might proceed at a more or less swift pace—but they had to be conducted without a let-up. If a winter recess is forced upon the German army, it must last a full four months, for Russian weather makes resumption of mobile warfare impossible before late April. The weather may explain why the German offensive has bogged down; it does not explain the Russian counter-offensive.

The failure of the war plan brings in its wake a crisis in the German High Command. It is difficult to improvise a new war plan, and even more difficult to carry it out, once everything has been staked on the offensive at any price. The crucial facts on the eastern front are that the Germans' offensive powers are ebbing, while the fighting strength of the Red Army has grown. This is not a mere matter of combat morale. Germany's mighty offensive arms have proved insufficient not only for the continuance of the German attacks but also for momentarily halting the counter-offensive launched by the Red Army.

Some observers have predicted that the Red Army's fighting strength would be impaired by the fact that Russia's war industries have been shifted in part to the east, where the migratory plants are only now being set up again. Nevertheless, the Red Army has been able to move to the counter-offensive with success. This means that German arms losses and exhaustion of the troops have been greater than has been heretofore assumed, while the Red Army, on the other hand, has substantial arms reserves. When the relocated war industries get into full production again within the next few months, the Red Army's arms supplies will be even greater. The Russian strategy of husbanding reserves during the first phase of the war, holding them for critical situations, has justified itself.

The German High Command now faces grave decisions. Psychologically, it must make every effort to halt the Russian initiative and resume the interrupted German offensive. Considerations of prestige, far from being negligible, are a determining factor with the German High Command. Once the army's prestige is gone, the collapse of morale will quickly follow. For six months it was hammered into the German soldier that swift victory had already been won. Unless a new German offensive is begun within the next six weeks, it will mean that the German war machine has suffered a deep crack. So now the High Command must endeavor to stabilize the front. Unless the Germans succeed in this and prevent the surrender of further important centers in the east, proof will have been offered that their fighting strength has been gravely lessened.

The struggle for Orel, Kharkov, Stalino and Mariupol during the next few weeks may well determine the issue of the Russian campaign. The offensive power of the Red Army is now undergoing its first great test. Unquestionably the goal of the offensive is the great

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Leningrad-Moscow-Crimean railway—the vital artery of European Russia. The next most important objectives for the Russians are the German-occupied portion of the Donets Basin and, to the northeast, Kharkov, the second most vital rail junction and third-largest industrial city of the country. In all likelihood the most crucial phase of the Russo-German war is about to begin.

The strategic function of the Red Army in the present conflict goes far beyond merely gaining time for Great Britain and the United States. As this writer has said before, that function is to give the entire anti-Hitler coalition victory on the eastern European front in the great continental European war.

There is real interrelation between the Russian front and the front in the Pacific, and this must be understood by the Allies. Strategical coördination of the two fronts is not only possible; it is a necessity.

The issue between Russia and Japan is irreconcilable and explosive in character. It goes much farther back than the Nazi-Soviet issue. From no other major power has the Soviet Union taken so many threats and humiliations as from Japan, and Stalin's memory is long. Since 1931 the Soviet Union has been tenaciously and systematically preparing for armed conflict with Japan. In 1938 and 1939 there were full-fledged undeclared wars between the Soviet Union and Japan. Whole army corps took part in the fighting in Outer Mongolia in the summer of 1939. The Soviet Union is vitally interested in Japan's defeat. A peace with Japanese militarism continuing to exist is unacceptable and inconceivable to the Soviet Union. A second Russo-Japanese war is inevitable.

The Soviet Union holds the key military position in the Far East. The Russian army of the Far East is the only one in eastern Asia that is equipped with powerful offensive arms, and the Soviet air force is capable of large-scale, short-range operations against Japan's islands; it has been groomed for this since 1933. Russia's strong submarine forces (probably numbering between eighty and one hundred units) could blockade Japan from the north. The Soviet Union has a monopoly on bases from which offensive air and naval operations against Japan can be conducted.

Unquestionably Great Britain and the United States are right in recommending Japan's total encirclement and the combined use of British, American and Russian sea, air and land power. But the Russians are right in regarding the front against Hitler as decisive not only for themselves but for the entire democratic coalition. Soviet strategy has held for several years that in the event of danger both in Europe and the Far East, the main emphasis should be placed on the European front. This view has been confirmed in the present war. Moscow is more important even than Vladivostok. In the struggle against the gigantic military might of the Third Reich the Soviet Union is compelled to look on its Far Eastern forces as possible reserves in the war against Germany.

Nevertheless these two strategic conceptions—a war of coalition in the Far East and the final settlement of the war in Europe—can be combined and coördinated. From the long-range point of view, the facts of the matter are that both on the Soviet-German front and on the Pacific front, a certain balance of power now obtains, with the initiative retained for the moment by the Red Army on the eastern European front and by Japan in the Pacific. In the Far East this balance must be broken by Soviet action, in Europe by Anglo-American action in the Mediterranean, North Africa, southern and western Europe. Today's watchword for coördinated Allied strategy reads: "Second fronts here, second fronts there, second fronts everywhere!"

The Anglo-Saxon powers cannot land a strong army in east Asia, nor can the Soviet Union attack the Third Reich from southern and western Europe. But the Soviet Union can intervene decisively in the East, Great Britain and the United States in the Mediterranean and in southern and western Europe. The combination of these two second fronts can give the Allies new strategic positions and turn the balance in their favor. Heretofore in Europe the purpose of a second front was to draw German forces away from the eastern front and thus unleash the offensive power of the Red Army. This task remains. But today the second front in Europe will bring other positive results. It will give the Soviet Union freedom of action in the Far East.

The Soviet Union's failure to enter the war against Japan does not spring from appeasement or Russian isolationism. Moscow takes into account resources and strategic opportunities, and especially the vast requirements in forces needed to maintain the front against Hitler. Once the flow of Anglo-American aid to Russia increases, an Anglo-American front in the west will relieve the Red Army on the eastern front. And once German effectives on the Russian front have been correspondingly weakened, the Soviet Union will no longer need its Far Eastern forces as a potential reserve for European battle.

Thus the creation of a second front in Europe is doubly to the interest of the Anglo-American powers. It is the best possible means of defeating the main enemy, Nazi Germany; and it opens perspectives, now remote, of strengthening Anglo-American positions in the Pacific by Russia's entry into Far Eastern hostilities. American entry into the war affords new chances for Anglo-American coöperation over the entire area from the Suez Canal to the North Atlantic. Perhaps the most effective revenge for Pearl Harbor can be wrought in the Mediterranean, with Anglo-American eyes turned toward southern and western Europe. MAX WERNER

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The Eleventh Hour in India

FROM THE WEST the battle-cloud is drifting toward India: on the east is a new and dangerous enemy, Japan. General Wavell should be able to cope with the military task as well as any soldier living. But this is a problem that calls for statecraft as well as strategy. A sharp and unwelcome reminder of the perils that lurk in these regions for the British Empire startled Englishmen recently. It came, indeed, not from India but from her neighbor Burma. The Premier of this dependency, which enjoys a qualified and transitional measure of self-government, Mr. U. Saw, has visited London in order to present the demand of his people that Burma shall become a Dominion immediately after the war. In outspoken interviews with the press, he has predicted unpleasant consequences if his claim should be rejected, as it clearly has been. "Japan," as he put it, "is clever." She has used Buddhism to win the sympathy of the Burmese, and Mr. Saw made it clear that in his view they might be as happy in the Co-Prosperity Sphere as in the British Empire—unless the British are ready to treat them as equal partners with the status of a Dominion. This is plain speech, which should command attention and respect, but in British ears louder noises clamor for attention.

The bigger and graver problem is India. A passive protestant, this immense mass of humanity watches the approach of the Axis divisions as a neutral spectator, though its own fate lies in the balance only a little less certainly than Russia's. This statement calls for some qualification. The princes, of course, are effusively loyal, for their shaky thrones depend on the good will of the paramount power. An army of considerably less than a million Indians has been raised and it has fought well, notably in Eritrea: the number when measured against this vast population is small. The backward industries of this peninsula have been much expanded to manufacture military equipment; but it is a curiously unbalanced expansion, for as yet India cannot make an internal-combustion engine or, with trifling exceptions, a machine tool, or a ship. It should be possible to raise a great army of several millions of tough and hardy men. It should be possible to expand the industrial effort many times over. But in both cases the indispensable condition is absent—the wholehearted enthusiasm of a nation fighting with self-respect for its own land and its own freedom. In a country so poor as India men can always be hired to fight or to work in factories, but that is not what free peoples mean when they speak of a national effort.

As yet the collective will and intelligence of the people has not been enlisted in this war. Many of the Hindu moderate notables have, indeed, pledged their unconditional support, and so has a much larger proportion of the Muslim minority, but the masses—peasants, workers and middle class—still stand aloof. The Congress Party, with the majority of the electorate behind it, is in passive revolt. A score or more of its leading members, who once held ministerial office in the provincial administrations, have challenged arrest and have been in prison with thousands of their followers. In seven of the eleven provinces the British administrators have been obliged to return to autocratic government. Finally, the Muslim minority, on which British Conservatives lean for choice, is only a shade more disposed to coöperate with the government than the Congress itself. Recently at the bidding of Mr. Jinnah, the masterful leader of the Muslim League, its representatives marched out of the All-India Legislative Assembly, and do not propose to return.

Hitherto British public opinion, ill served by a preoccupied press, has not been deeply stirred by this painful spectacle. The war, until this fall, was still a long way from the gates of India. Moreover, whatever Indians may think of their British rulers, it is certain that they will not bestir themselves to put Hitler, with his racial doctrines, in their place. Mr. Gandhi's tactics of passive protest are ineffective for the good reason that they are meant to be ineffective. As he said himself, he did not wish to hamper the British in the conduct of the war, and still less did he wish to help the Germans to victory. This explanation may account for the omissions of British statesmanship hitherto, but it is hardly adequate today. As the war nears India, it is not her passivity that Britain needs: her active support as a united nation would be worth many divisions in the field. But it can only be had on terms which as yet the Churchill government will not concede.

Early in the war I believe the Congress could have been won. I think it wished to be won. But Mr. Gandhi is now in full control and will not modify his pacifist creed: he cannot actively support this or any war, and the Congress could do so only by throwing him over. That would mean a split. Again, with the patronage of the Viceroy, the Muslim League has grown in influence and numbers, and has become more than ever irreconcilable. Mr. Jinnah denies the existence of an Indian nation: for him there are two nations, one Hindu, the other Muslim. No one is quite sure whether his demand for the creation of an independent Muslim state, Pakistan, reflects a genuine aspiration, or whether it is a tactical device. Meanwhile he refuses to consider any plan of federal unity for India based on democratic principles. He claims for his minority (a quarter of the population) full parity with the majority, if the "two nations" are to collaborate, even temporarily. This looks like total deadlock.

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Is there any element of hope here? I think there is, for Indians begin to realize their peril. The younger generation, as I gather from my own friends among it, is restive: youth is activist everywhere. The Left, moreover, has changed its outlook since Russia became a belligerent. I believe that even now India, or the younger and bolder half of it, could still be won. Unhappily, Mr. Churchill has now estranged even its elderly moderates by excluding it from the promises of the Atlantic Charter. What would achieve this reconciliation? There have been promises and pledges enough, but all of them were vitiated by the condition which placed a right of veto over the future constitution in the hands of any of the recognized minorities, notably the princes and the Muslims. While that reservation stands, there will be no settlement. My own wish would be for a new departure on these lines:

1. A political amnesty. 2. A return to representative self-government in the seven provinces. 3. A reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council, with an exclusively Indian membership. The chief posts should be offered to such men as the Hindu Jawaharlal Nehru and the Muslim Sikandar Hyat Khan. It should have the name and responsibility of a National Government, formed to lead a free India in her war for nationhood. 4. To this National Government should be entrusted the task of drawing up the eventual constitution of a free and united India, to come into force immediately after the war. Were such an offer made, I think it would sweep Mr. Jinnah's obstruction aside and silence even Mr. Gandhi's scruples. But I have no confident hope that it will be made. The clock has struck the eleventh hour, but our ears are deafened by the guns.

London H. N. BRAILSFORD

Housing the War Workers

HOUSING cannot win the war but it can lose it. The habitats of thousands are now box cars, pews, jails. Defense workers, bidding against each other, have doubled room rents and brought back the three-shift hot-bed. Increased rents have wiped out wage rises. Employers complain of labor turnover, inefficiency, disaffection; health officers warn of epidemics. Lack of housing has upset the production timetable. Our program of defense housing has failed; our war-housing program is threatened.

Complete absence of policy hampered the program from the start. Housing is more than building homes. Advance planning and a sound policy are indispensable. Unless local conditions are understood, proper sites selected and local coöperation assured, trouble looms.

The operations of Secretary Ickes' hamstrung Housing Division, with its four directors in three years, confirmed that a centralized housing policy operating from Washington must fail. Senator Wagner's formula, which thereafter confined federal authority to financing projects but vested power to build and manage in the local authorities, is responsible for one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of public operations. Thirty-eight states passed enabling acts; legal obstacles were quickly overcome; six hundred local-authority corporations were set up. Suitable standards for lower-cost-housing construction followed, practical arrangements with cities for tax exemption and services effected. Houses were built—well, cheaply, speedily. Yet when these authorities were needed most they were all but shelled out of existence. The formula that succeeded was abandoned; the failure was resurrected.

No one policy now guided defense-housing operations. A dozen federal agencies scrambled for a share of the housing purse. They competed for sites and personnel, sometimes outbid one another and in one city blocked off one another's streets. Under one formula, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation required insurance from the Federal Housing Administration before it would lend to the Defense Housing Administration. Each of the federal agencies acted as if it were a private corporation to which the government was alien.

To the conflict between agencies and between their policies was soon added a conflict of personalities. The United States Housing Authority's local-authority program to rehouse slum-dwellers was never too popular with certain key congressmen, and Administrator Nathan Straus, quick to quarrel, did not win them over. The policy of Charles F. Palmer, the Housing Coördinator, was to hold with the local-authority hare and run with the private-enterprise hounds. Representative Fritz G. Lanham and his committee, through which defense-housing appropriations cleared, were riding with the hounds. The hare was all alone. The USHA and the local housing authorities were given no part of federal housing funds. The competent local-authority machinery was not used. Private builders and lenders obtained a preferred position. The program snagged.

A conflict in personalities brought vituperations instead of housing. John M. Carmody of the Federal Works Administration called Palmer a dictator. Straus charged Palmer with excessively favoring the speculative builder, and Carmody with inefficiency and bad judgment. Carmody, sincere but tired, finally resigned. Straus remains a minister with portfolio without funds and may have to go also. Palmer's role is undefined.

As housing operations became centralized, conflict with the localities was inevitable. The government agencies were little concerned about the city's plan, its

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tax problem, its ability to absorb the new houses or supply sufficient schools, water, sewage. A flimsy dormitory of the barracks type was implanted in the fashionable residential center of one city. The government often refused to obtain building permits or pay the normal tax rate of cities, though it insisted on using their schools and facilities. The number of dwellings in one small city was increased by 25 percent, though its budget and services could not possibly stand the strain. When the New York State Housing Commissioner invited the federal housing agencies to confer on the problem, not a single representative chose to come. Another city vainly sought to get the government's consent to distribute dwellings among a number of adjoining communities. Federal officials told cities where they would build whether they "liked it or not."

Resentment in local communities ran high. When the Federal Works Agency placed an unwanted project in Clark Township, New Jersey, city officials had the state legislature separate it from the community. Tenants are now moving to homes that have little water and no light. Munhall, Pennsylvania, refused to let the government tap into its sewer line and the government had to condemn it.

The inexperience of federal agencies in site-selection and management, coupled with the known inefficiency of all centralized housing operations, produced the expected number of absurdities. Projects were misplaced. A federal agency purchased a site which turned out to be a swamp into which sewage drained from an adjoining army camp. A project in Quincy, Massachusetts, to house shipworkers, was inaccessibly placed nine miles from the yards in response to Quincy real-estate pressure. In one city a barracks was built where the demand was for houses for workers with families. Naval architects in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, forgot about adequate exits, play-spaces, gutters and other details. The Farm Security Administration built a dormitory without kitchens four miles from a restaurant and no way to get there. Rent schedules in many places were set at levels defense workers could not possibly pay. Despite the crucial need for dwellings, a score of projects remained vacant. Negro workers were hardly provided for at all, and because they couldn't easily double with white labor had to quadruple with their own kind in Hoovervilles. In the process we changed our national housing policy from slum clearance to slum promotion.

Temporary houses are now being built under government auspices, which, like all temporary houses in the past, must quickly degenerate into slums. The view that these houses are only temporary is a pipe dream. Since we have more families than homes in this country for the first time since the post-war housing shortage, and have halted all further non-defensive dwelling construction, a long continued scarcity might prevent tearing down any of these houses for decades. With the cost of temporary housing suitable for families only about 20 percent cheaper than permanent construction, it is hard to detect the logic in a construction program of this character.

There is little more comfort in the government's "permanent" dwellings. The Public Buildings Administration, accustomed to building post offices, has gone out on an "economy" bender that must leave us with a painful architectural hangover. Many ill planned, flimsy and ugly buildings are being put up at much higher costs than well planned and well built USHA buildings constructed by the local authorities. Mr. Palmer says that to impose standards would discourage builders, and he is satisfied as long as workers will live in the houses. The FHA says that standards "shall be deemed to be met if the housing accommodations are found acceptable to workers." A defense worker without a roof over his head accepts almost anything.

Two million defense migrants have made the housing program a field day for the speculator and the home-ownership hawker. The FHA's Title VI, which authorized loan insurance on homes in defense areas and paved the way for precious priorities on materials needed to build them, was passed only after Jesse Jones of the Federal Loan Agency testified that such houses will be rented only. Probably not more than one out of ten, and concededly not more than one out of four, however, are actually rented; the others have been saddled on the worker. Migrants, as well as other residents of small means, unable to rent, are being forced into ownership, usually with a $100 down-payment and the balance of the equity payment in eighteen monthly instalments. With monthly charges on such houses equaling about $56, only about two percent of defense workers can afford to pay them.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, in its confidential weekly letter, says: "An attractive feature of Title VI is that it hasn't a great many restrictions . . . a builder has no strings as to who should rent or buy his homes." Admitting the "increased hazard," Congress has authorized a kitty of $10,000,000 to cover losses on its first $100,000,000 of mortgage insurance. The lender bank is thus insured for 100 percent of its investment. The builder usually has no equity in the proposition whatever and bails out with his profit when he sells. The reserve-fund and insurance premiums paid by the owner are supposed to protect the government. The home-owner is the forgotten man.

The *coup de grâce* is the new Lanham measure authorizing another $300,000,000 for housing. As passed by the House, it is the most obstructive piece of legislation in the history of housing and defense. It is cunningly designed to wipe out the last vestige of the slum-clearance program as a condition for the building of any more war housing. It proposes repeal of the original Lanham provisions which enabled the renting

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of dwellings at rentals defense workers could afford to pay, thus making it impossible for the great majority of war workers to obtain even government-built houses. Hereafter houses would have to be sold or rented only on the basis of "value," war or no war. It would enjoin the conveyance of war housing to any public or private agency organized for slum clearance or for the building of subsidized housing for low-income workers, thereby making it forever impossible for slum-dwellers to live in these houses even if a private philanthropist wished to buy them at a profit to the government.

Housing would have to be sold as expeditiously as possible, forcing migrants and other insecure families into ownership. Construction would be confined to the Public Buildings Administration, the army and navy, and make possible the building of substandard and temporary housing on a grand scale. The bill, if the House version stands (the Senate version modifies most of these objections), would shut the door to intelligent reorganization of housing, encourage the building of slums, force thousands of poor families into home ownership and, by barring housing to the great majority of war workers, render signal aid to the enemy.

Real progress in war housing can come only with clear definition of purpose. Housing must be accepted as part of a long-range program. A statement by the President that war housing, wherever possible, should be built so that it can be used after the war to rehouse slum-dwellers, would make it practical for the architect to design neighborhoods instead of random developments, to plan intelligently for the future as well as the present. The threat of future competition with the private builder would be removed, since low-rent housing is a field in which he does not operate. Since dwellings would be rented for the war's duration, there would be no need of forcing families into ownership. The building of temporary housing would be undertaken only where it could find no permanent post-war use. Such a policy, plainly stated, would tell us where we are headed in our housing program, promote economy in the end and give a helping hand to the slum-dweller and lower-paid defense worker.

The recognition that housing is a long-range program would call for the elimination of federal-housing agencies whom absence of direction and policy has brought into conflict with each other. Such a program would need to be decentralized to achieve its greatest efficiency. The proved local authorities would be used except where they were unable or unwilling to act. A decentralized program would enable the most efficient use in this emergency of the trained local-housing staff and free the army and navy from housing detail.

Such a statement of policy would remove the war-housing program from the influence of the real-estate pressure groups and those who see the war as a rare opportunity to scuttle social programs. More than housing is at stake in the housing program.

CHARLES ABRAMS

Hansen of Harvard

SOME PEOPLE believe that Dr. Alvin H. Hansen wears his green eyeshade even in bed. Whether he does or not, it is becoming as famous in Washington as it is at Harvard. The economic and fiscal thinking of this distinguished professor of economics permeates the New Deal. But for one thing he would be the Felix Frankfurter of the administration's financial policy, the Corcoran-Cohen of its economic philosophy. What stands in the way is the fact that Dr. Hansen does not give a whoop about the New Deal, one way or another. What he cares about is his revolutionary vision of a brave new America after the war. An America in which factories work overtime on peace goods and there are jobs for all.

Dr. Hansen takes the Federal Express out of Boston every Tuesday night. He stays in Washington two days and is back for his graduate seminars in Cambridge again on Friday morning. In the two days of this commuter's stop at the capital his telephone rings constantly. A stream of visitors comes to his door. His discussions go on through lunch and dinner, then after dinner. They are with top-rank men in the government. He is one of the most influential men in Washington.

Recently he flew on a semi-official mission to England. In London John Maynard Keynes, a pioneer of modern economics, is now a member of the governing board of the old Bank of England, an uncomfortable colleague of Montagu Norman, the very symbol of financial orthodoxy. And in Washington, the genial and stocky professor, Keynes's American counterpart, swings into a 30-cent taxi at the Union Station every Wednesday morning and goes to the marble home of the Federal Reserve Board, on Constitution Avenue.

The Reserve Board's home is a Greek temple, with air-conditioning. It was designed to be even more elegant than any of the banks which it supervises. Accordingly it has a chaste simplicity, of the million-dollar sort. It is cool and stark and sumptuous, inside and out, and nowhere has a dollar been permitted to do the work that five could do.

In one of the oyster-white offices of this structure Dr. Hansen sits two days a week. His manner is simple, easy and direct; he commands confidence and respect. Sitting there in a swivel chair, and playing with his key ring as he talks, he has a folksy quality. He has never lost it since he was a young man in the little

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prairie town of Viborg, South Dakota, where he was born, the son of immigrant Niels and Bergita Hansen. He still remembers some of his Danish. In that palatial marble Reserve Board building, Dr. Hansen in his swivel chair and celluloid shade (worn to protect eyes oversensitive to light) looks like an old-time Boston and Maine depot-master, or maybe the slot man in the news desk of a morning newspaper.

He is, in a sense, one of the unobtrusive revolutionaries of our times. He is the leader of a whole new economic school. His views are among the most influential that have hit Washington in a long time. He believes that, war or no war, the 1929 depression and what followed marked a structural change in the economic order of the western world, no less basic and profound than the industrial revolution which began a hundred and fifty years ago. He does not believe that when the war is over we are going back to the former ideas of "normalcy"—no matter who is the Harding. He concludes that private industry can no longer use up excess savings fast enough to provide full employment, save for limited periods. And so, he asserts, it becomes the government's duty to supply the demand that will provide the jobs. The government is doing it now, in the emergency. After the emergency it must continue its responsibility. How? Why, simply enough: by rebuilding America.

There is a great deal more to it than that, but there you have, in essence, the Hansen philosophy. What is as important, perhaps, as the philosophy is the respectability of Dr. Hansen's status in the economic world, his weight with the administration and, most of all, his full conviction that his goal can be achieved. That gives his post-war blueprint a positive quality. To the listless millions in democracies who have thus far seen in the war simply the negative goal of "beating Hitler," that may be important. Wars are not won by negative slogans. Keynes in London and Hansen in Washington paint the picture of a better world, with peace for nations and security for individuals. Hitler has no monopoly, they assert, on full employment. It is true that in the past American democracy has always been, save in tremendous war spurts like this one, running along on 50 to 80 percent of its capacity to produce, like a 6-cylinder car limping along on 5 cylinders. That isn't, the man from Harvard thinks, necessary any longer.

Before going any farther with this challenging thesis, which the New Deal is taking for its own, a word should be said about Dr. Hansen's background. Academically he is the Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University. He has a whole string of economic connections, recital of which would only bore you. He became interested in business cycles when he wrote his doctor's thesis at the University of Wisconsin and he made his academic reputation largely at the University of Minnesota. He has been a vice-president of the American Statistical Association and is now associate editor of a terrifying publication called Econometrica, which is a combination of economics and statistics, with the chief horrors of both. He has been chairman of the economic advisory council of the conservative National Industrial Conference Board. He was recently president of the American Economic Association—a job passed around among the good fellows of that organization. These things aren't particularly important save that they prove Dr. Hansen's economic respectability. Indeed he belongs to the Union League of the economic world, the Back Bay, the Main Line. And he has done more to agitate, upset and convulse that orthodox world than almost anybody else in it except Keynes.

Dr. Hansen has written two recent books in what he innocently believes to be popular parlance—"Full Recovery or Stagnation?" and his current "Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles." Many paragraphs in these books are actually understandable. In Washington he is a close adviser of Marriner S. Eccles of the Federal Reserve System and an intimate of Vice President Wallace. He is on the United States-Canadian joint economic commission. He first came to Washington as a State Department adviser in connection with the reciprocal-trade agreements. Today, as he puts it, he dabbles in many things. He is a consultant of the National Resources Planning Board and is working on post-war urban-redevelopment plans with a Reserve Board assistant. He is an adviser on federal-state-local fiscal matters. But most of all he is concerned with the new America after the war.

There was a Dutch crew on the airplane that flew Dr. Hansen recently from Portugal to London. He asked them the question he put all along his trip: what they thought the post-war world would be like. He found these young aviators, who had previously been flying on the East Indies route, optimistic over the future. They had a vision of air travel flung to the ends of the earth. But in Britain he found very largely the negative attitude that characterizes the United States today. There was a dogged determination to "beat Hitler." But after that there was uncertainty; at the back of men's minds apprehension and even dread of what would come next, with the unpaid burden of war and the fear that peace would bring insecurity and chaos.

He is emphatic in his belief that a program of post-war economic expansion for the democracies, with full employment, is imperative. He believes that the bucking broncho of the business cycle can now, at last, be put into a bit and bridle.

America, Dr. Hansen says, can finance full production. It can afford whatever it is able to produce. Yes—homes and terminal facilities; express highways and flood control; rural electrification and bridges; baseball fields and better diets; hospitals and municipal build-

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ings; parks and steamboats and sewage-disposal plants and electrification and old-age pensions—the nation can afford all these. What it cannot afford is idleness. That is the Hansen thesis.

But, you ask, who will pay the cost? Won't it involve a tremendous public debt? To that Dr. Hansen replies simply, there is no necessity of paying off the public debt. While under certain conditions debt repayment would be wise, under other conditions, such as those likely to develop after the war, it would be a disastrously mistaken policy.

Put in that form, the theory sounds hare-brained. Not pay back the debt? Is this, then, confirmation of the worst suspicions held against the New Deal?

But the situation isn't so bad as that. The Harvard economist does not propose to repudiate the debt. Men and women who invest their money in government bonds will get their money back, with interest, every cent of it, just as they always have. What he does propose is about what Alexander Hamilton proposed after the Revolution, that the public debt be maintained as an instrument of public policy.

Take the Napoleonic debt of Great Britain. In relation to British income, that was immense; put in modern American terms, the equivalent of an income of some $200,000,000,000 or $300,000,000,000. Britain never paid off that debt. Individuals were paid off as bonds became due, but most people were glad to reinvest their money again. And Britain enjoyed unparalleled prosperity for a century.

Public debt, says Dr. Hansen, is different from private debt. If America's debt were paid off tomorrow, it would disrupt the useful institutions which have their funds invested in gilt-edged government securities. Hamilton pointed out after the Revolution that "proper funding of the present debt will render it a national blessing." Dr. Hansen today regards it as of basic importance. In his theory it is like the accelerator of a car. If the car is going too rapidly, toward inflation, you reduce the debt; if the national economy is slowing down, you stimulate consumption by increasing the debt. "The debt is a means to control the magnitude of the national income," he says, "and, in conjunction with the tax structure, to affect income distribution."

He never blinks at the results to which his bold logic brings him. Behind the mildest and most reasonable of exteriors he sometimes quietly offers comments which are simply political dynamite. It is amazing that his views have not stirred up popular discussion long before this. Thus, in his "Fiscal Policy" he calmly comments on the "gross inadequacy" of the New Deal's public-works expenditures in 1933-35. Mr. Roosevelt's opponents at the time certainly thought they were pretty high. Dr. Hansen's utter placidity is so deceptive that it is hard to believe that what he is saying is anything but a conventional utterance. When he finished testifying before Senator O'Mahoney's TNEC, in the crystal and marble opulence of the Senate caucus room (whose shades had been carefully lowered and chandeliers extinguished to favor his weak eyes), arch-conservative Senator William H. King of Utah congratulated him on his sound common sense. It all seemed reasonable and unexciting to Senator King. Yet echoes of what he said were heard in the 1940 election. The people who quoted his ideas generally repeated them at third and fourth hand, and did not know where they originated. But it was Dr. Hansen who gave vogue at that time to the term "mature economy." This has a purely technical meaning as Dr. Hansen used it. It implies that a country has reached a temporarily stabilized economic life, with steady production and moderate capital-goods expansion. The public never heard about Dr. Hansen, but it did hear Wendell Willkie accuse President Roosevelt and his advisers of taking a "defeatist" view of America's future—which was the popular interpretation put upon Dr. Hansen's phrase.

But isn't there a catch in his logic? Suppose a public debt is a good thing, why should not a bigger public debt be even better? Why should it not go on and on until the whole thing is reduced to absurdity and inflation? Well, Dr. Hansen has an answer for that too. He argues that the proper size of the public debt is a question of "balance." There is no rigid and fixed limit beyond which you cannot go. It is a matter of management, he says, and, in his phrase, it can best be taken care of by seeing that taxation is adequate to prevent inflation, and to provide a reasonably equitable distribution of wealth and income. "A nation can afford what it can produce."

Is this state socialism? The Harvard professor does not think in those terms at all, but he would probably deny it, anyway. It isn't socialism, because private industry would be maintained. Business might be better off, under this dual system, because it would have the job of production in a world of full output. Government, for its part, must take the job of maintaining consumption—not only consumption by individuals, buying things at shops, but "community consumption," represented by public housing, social-security benefits and the like.

That is a rough outline and a vast oversimplification of his thesis. It is a post-war blueprint, being compiled today by Keynes in London and Hansen in Washington. Dr. Hansen has been trying to tell about it in his difficult books; and has got the academic world half-convinced, and the New Deal 90-percent sold. If he does happen to be right, there is no need for a period of economic frustration and mass unemployment after the war. In fact, there is at last something positive to struggle toward, in this world crisis, a land of full production and full employment, in peace as in war. That is the vision the economist sees under his green eyeshade.

RICHARD LEE STROUT

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Washington Notes

Censorship Starts and Unity Ends

THE CENSORSHIP arrangement finally approved by President Roosevelt has much to commend it. In theory, it is a big improvement over the First World War set-up. How it works out in practice will depend upon the wisdom, patience and integrity of the men to whom Mr. Roosevelt delegates his powers over press, radio and other media of communication. However good their organization, the job they turn in will be no better than their judgment as reflected in the hundreds of individual decisions they will be called upon to make.

Byron Price, executive news editor of the Associated Press, has been appointed chief censor. As a newspaperman, he naturally will be sympathetic to the contention that channels of information should be kept open except at points where they might leak military secrets to the enemy. On his advisory board will be heads of the departments most concerned with information about the progress of the war effort and the heads of two emergency agencies—Lowell Mellett of the Office of Government Reports and Archibald MacLeish of the Office of Facts and Figures. These two former editors, it is assumed, will do most of the kibitzing on Price's game.

Price himself will have final authority. He will police all radio, mail and telegraph communications leaving the country. There will be no such direct censorship of domestic news. Secret information will be withheld at the source, much as it is now. That is, the army, navy and State Department will not give out information that would be enlightening to the enemy. If it leaks out in spite of precautions, press and radio executives will be expected to suppress it voluntarily. If they fail to live up to expectations, they will have the censor to deal with. There are many more or less informal sanctions he could invoke against recalcitrants, such as denial of access to the press galleries and press liaison officials of the various executive departments.

It is assumed that the censor will be available for consultation in advance of publication if reporters and editors are uncertain about the advisability of using borderline information. The censor's unofficial decisions probably will be more important than his official acts.

The essential difference between Price's office and that of George Creel, who occupied a comparable position in the First World War, lies in the complete separation of the censorship function from the propaganda function. Price will confine himself to determination of what should not be printed. Creel undertook to decide not only what should not be printed but what, for purposes of stimulating national morale, should be printed. This time the censor will not be a propagandist too.

Who will be is still uncertain. There is a difference of opinion within the administration about the necessity for propaganda of a positive nature. Some officials believe the case against the Axis is so clear that it needs no underscoring. Others disagree violently, contending that we shall never achieve real unity and an all-out effort until there is conscious direction of the nation's wartime thoughts and emotions. As matters stand, either Mellett or MacLeish can emerge as the directing genius. They have the agencies for it and, as official advisers to the censor, should be able to get clearance for the kind of information they believe can turn the trick.

The unity honeymoon that started with Japan's attack on Hawaii lasted scarcely two weeks. That was about as long as it could have been expected to survive the old conflicts. Those who thought Japan's shotgun blast would produce a situation in which capital and labor, farmer and worker, New Dealer and Old Dealer could live happily ever after were, of course, dreaming up a fairy tale.

After passing the most obviously necessary war measures, Congress revolted against the administration by refusing to draft nineteen-year-olds. Meanwhile, the farm bloc held out for a formula that would give agriculture a bigger share of the national income under the price-control bill now in process of formulation by the Senate Agriculture Committee. Representatives of labor and industry, brought together by the President to formulate a voluntary anti-strike code, deadlocked over the closed-shop issue.

The big blow-up, however, will not come until the Senate Finance Committee settles down to consideration of the Treasury's new tax bill after the first of the year. It is now obvious that the President's promise not to let this war spawn a new school of millionaires won't be made good by limitation of profits. Profits will have to be taken away from the potential millionaires in taxes and Congress will be loath, as always, to do the job.

Testifying before the Senate committee considering price legislation, Leon Henderson revealed that corporate profits had increased 169 percent in two years. They will be $11,500,000,000 this year, compared with $4,270,000,000 in 1939. After taxes are deducted, this year's profits will still be $6,140,000,000, as compared with 1939's $3,040,000,000. Bethlehem Steel, which is holding out for a better plant-expansion agreement with the government than anyone else has succeeded in getting, made a profit of $29,041,000 in the third quarter of 1941, as compared with $6,763,000 in the comparable period two years ago.

Donald Nelson and William Knudsen are at sword's points over the war-production plan. Knudsen is still trying to protect the automobile companies from the degree of conversion to war production that Nelson thinks necessary. They also disagree about the size of the over-all war-production program—Knudsen holding that Nelson's all-out plans lie beyond the realm of possible achievement. . . . Leon Henderson was caught by his own order against sale of tires. He needs a new set for his own car. . . . Phil Murray's appointment of John L. Lewis as a CIO representative on the President's management-labor conference committee apparently means that the two men have made up their differences and that Lewis will again be the power behind the throne in the CIO. The whole CIO conference committee had a strong pro-Lewis tinge. Moreover, Murray has failed to clean the pro-Lewisites out of appointive jobs at headquarters. . . . Known Communist sympathizers are again finding it relatively easy to get government jobs.

Washington T. R. B.

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Anything Goes

THERE IS TODAY practically no limit to what the movies can't do, but there is a very real and narrow limit to what they actually manage to do. Take the book "H. M. Pulham, Esq." It isn't that the movie people are thinking of whatever subtleties the book may have had, or are willing to give much thought to realizing them on the screen. No, the book will make a picture because it made a splash of selling, and because they are hard up for screen material, and because if the material is as original as they are always hollering for material to be, it is too risky unless it has been given a tryout in some other field.

"H. M. Pulham, Esq.," doesn't make much of a movie piece, for in spite of the care for story outline, nothing original or different comes across. It is the story of a man who never quite knew which of two beds he wanted to sleep in; and since it keeps you awake for two solid hours, you are not likely to care if he ever gets his eyes shut. A Boston family is mentioned and the man is shown getting older and wearing a derby hat. Otherwise, it is a study of nothing more than Robert Young deciding which horn of the dilemma he would rather sit on.

Robert Young and Hedy Lamarr (each of them playing a straight part well), the set and solid Charles Coburn, Van Heflin and Fay Holden. They do what is required of them, and so does the story under the direction of King Vidor, who also participated in its adaptation. H. M. Pulham was pretty fly for Boston and starts the picture working in a New York advertising office, where he falls in love with a girl copywriter from Iowa out of Vienna. When the girl visits his New England home she can't stick it, and when his father dies he becomes quite naturally the man of the family. He marries respectably and while his hair gets whiter and his derby blacker, the girl retains exactly the same face, figure and accent. Some of this is shown in flashback. Some of it is not shown in flashback. But the ending is vague however they tell it: he doesn't love the girl he's loved, but he loves his wife whom he apparently doesn't love, and the moral is apparently that if you live in Boston it's an open and shut case of living in Boston. It is a true enough moral, but some have lived to escape from it, and it hasn't made good fiction since James and Hawthorne fled abroad—if it did even at the time.

In other words, a book may recreate a period or sharpen its occasional matters to a main point. But a picture-maker hunting merely for a guaranteed story will lose all the importance unless he has a feeling for it, and wind up telling a story with less meaning than amiable confusion. Vidor has made some turkeys. He has also made some of the finest things: "The Wedding Night" was laid in this same New England, much nearer to the heart and understanding, much fuller in its appreciation of people because it was the perhaps more obvious theme of poor people, and how they lived because they were born, and had to. He shouldn't be turned loose, and nobody should be turned loose (except possibly the Marx brothers) on the subtle hierarchy of Back Bay. Whether the book was successful or whether the picture will be, the actual result in picture terms is another triangle so old and worn that you can't find an acute or even right angle in the three. OTIS FERGUSON

It isn't very often that two pictures beg to be reviewed together but "Appointment for Love" (Universal) and "You Belong to Me" (Columbia) do just that. Both have lady doctors who marry ordinary, *i.e.*, non-medical, husbands, both have wedding nights with the wife called away to attend a patient, and both use many of the same situations for laughs. In the first, Charles Boyer surprisingly shows a nice feel for comedy and Margaret Sullavan could recite the multiplication tables and make audiences like it. Rita Johnson, Eugene Pallette and Reginald Denny also help to make it seem funnier than it is. But except for three or four bright moments, the story stretches out interminably and finally ends, not from any real need of resolution of plot problems, but because the allotted hour and fifty minutes have been used up.

Chief credit for making "You Belong to Me" the better comedy of the two goes to Henry Fonda—his frustrated husband is a honey. Then, too, the story by Dalton Trumbo has some teeth in it and, as directed by Wesley Ruggles, runs along fast even when it isn't going anywhere. In general, though, these coy bedroom farces legalized by a wedding ring are neither novel nor funny.

Better than these two for sheer entertainment is "International Squadron" (Warner Brothers, directed by Louis Seiler), which came in very quietly and has more exciting scenes of bombed London and aerial fighting than "A Yank in the RAF," with all its publicity. There is a story of sorts with Ronald Reagan as the irresponsible young American who joins the RAF and grows up fast. It's not an outstanding picture, but it has pace, excitement and contemporary interest. M. B.

Records: These for a Starter

ACCORDING TO THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, people are still buying phonographs and radio-phonographs in rather large numbers, increased prices, taxes and national defense notwithstanding. In fact a minor boom is now in full swing, prompted partly, perhaps, by the implied threat of a future curtailment of consumer purchases, and partly by a feeling among those who have been waiting for frequency modulation to get started that if they are going to buy at all they had better do it now.

So phonographs are being bought and people with phonographs are going to buy records. And records are not quite so simple to buy as books. King Lear is King Lear in any edition. But with recorded music there are at least three intermediaries between the composer and you—the performers, the recording engineers and the firm that prints them clear or wavery, on good surfaces or bad. The hall or studio in which the performance was recorded, the state of your own needles, pickups and speakers are also important. A bad flaw in any one of these items can spoil a record completely.

To start from scratch and pick out a small basic collection from the whole broad field of recorded music is quite a chore for anyone—particularly if you aren't quite clear on what you want. With this in mind I'm going to make a few suggestions about a basic collection. And with my fingers crossed, knowing that it is a presumptuous and reckless thing to do, that everyone has his favorites and that no two

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people in the world would agree on such a list. But about favorites. It's a pretty good rule of thumb to steer clear of them. The old standbys you can be pretty sure of hearing on your radio throughout the year, and the phonograph serves a better purpose if it supplements rather than duplicates these programs. And further, what may ring the bell in a concert hall from time to time may become pretty boring after repeated hearings, and the hearings certainly will be repeated where there aren't many records on the stacks. So I'm not going to list many of the items you will hear every Tuesday, Saturday and Sunday. What I will try to do is pick out a few pieces here and there which may characterize a man or an era, though not played to death, and which also show the composer running true to form and in some cases, I hope, at his best.

Everyone starts with Beethoven. That is sensible because he wears well in all seasons and moods, and anyone who has strung along with twenty or thirty records for a few months knows what "wear" means. He's played a great deal, and I would skip the more popular symphonies and take the Fourth because it's good Beethoven, really good, and because there is a fine recording of it by Toscanini and the BBC Orchestra (Victor Set 676; $4.50). Released last year, this is recorded with the conductor's usual fire, clarity and precision, but happily without the wooden tone of the NBC Orchestra, and it is a rare example of what a good recording should be—for music, direction, and for technical excellence to boot. I think you will want to hear Gieseking playing the Piano Concerto No. 4 in G (Columbia Set 411, $4.50). It falls a little below Schnabel's earlier performance, possibly, but the recording, an extraordinary blend of piano and orchestra tone, is better. Finally, it is good to have one of those strangely advanced "last" quartets—perhaps Opus 131 in C Sharp Minor, played not long ago for Columbia by the incomparable Budapests (Set 429, $5.50). And that will last you for some time.

To go back to the very beginning, into liturgical music in the Gregorian style, the really authoritative recording is that made by the monks of Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, released by Victor some years ago. You don't need to get the whole album (Set 87), which runs to a flat $13, but try the simple but moving mass, Lux et Origo, which occupies the first (12538) of the eleven records. And then you will find the later polyphonic period summed up in a single ten-inch disc made by the male voices of the Westminster Abbey Choir, with the Super Flumina Babylonia of Palestrina on one side, and Victoria's beautiful Ave Verum Corpus on the other (Columbia 17146-D, 75 cents). And for a still later period—the golden age of Italian music—one Columbia album containing eleven clean-cut little sonata masterpieces of Domenico Scarlatti played by Robert Casadesus (Set 372, $3.50) serves very well, and so will Corelli's La Folia, variations for piano and violin on an old passacaglia theme, in the recent performance by Szigeti (Columbia X-202, $2.50).

It was years ago that Marcel Maas recorded Bach's Toccata and Fugue in C Minor for Columbia (X-4, $2.50), but this he did as though playing to himself in the half-darkness, lingering reflectively over the deep piano tones of the Toccata and producing a thing of rare beauty—even by today's standards of piano recording. It makes a fine start on Bach, and so does the seldom-heard Ricercare from the Musical Offering, on a theme by Frederick the Great, the way it's played by Edwin Fischer's Chamber Orchestra (Victor 8660, $1). For a sample of his choral work there are two of his finest cantatas—Sleepers Wake! and Christ in Death's Dark Prison Lay, beautifully recorded in Spain by the ante-bellum Orfeo Catala de Barcelona (Victor Set 120, $5.50).

From Bach it is a natural step to Handel, and while his five harpsichord suites are played well enough by Landowska in Victor's Set 592 ($6.50) to make me hesitate, something more solid and characteristic is probably his Concerto Grosso No. 6 in G Minor, which flows broadly and amiably on the strings of the London Symphony under Weingartner (Columbia X-154, $2.50). With Haydn you might begin with the meditative Andante and Variations in F Minor, a piece of extraordinary loveliness, played for Columbia by Wolff (69876-D, $1), passing on to his Symphony No. 92 in G Major (Oxford) in a recording by Walter and the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (Victor Set 682, $3.50), which comes very near to being another one of those models of all around excellence. Since Haydn was a prolific writer of string quartets, you might also want to try his Quartet in D Major, Opus 50, No. 6, occupying the first two records of Volume VII of the Haydn Quartet Society and played quite well by the Pro-Arte Quartet (Victor 17274-5, $2).

Mozart has written so much that is first-water and not often heard that his case is something of a poser. Still I have no hesitation in suggesting the two beautiful piano sonatas (K. 332, K. 576) which Casadesus has recorded in his lucid, sensitive style for Columbia (M-433, $3.50). And because it is so bright and witty and excellently recorded, I also suggest something a little off the beaten track—his Serenade No. 11 in E Flat (K. 375) for a pair each of oboes, clarinets, bassoons and horns. This is performed with rare skill and balance by eight alumni of the National Orchestral Association under Richard Korn (Victor Set 826, $3.50). You do not hear things like this every day. But for something more familiar you shouldn't overlook Beecham's expertly tempered performance of the Haffner Symphony with the London Philharmonic (Columbia Set 399, $3).

It is a temptation to include at least one of Schubert's symphonies and his Death and the Maiden Quartet, but with an eye to balance, it is probably better to turn to his simple and lovely songs. Seven of the twenty-four in Die Winterreise cycle are sung in slightly scrambled order, but in the best of taste and voice by Lotte Lehmann (Columbia Set 466, $3.50). She has done a similar job on ten *lieder* of Brahms (Columbia Set 453, $4).

But until Szigeti gets around to a new recording of it, I would rather have Brahms in his Violin Concerto, played by Heifetz and the Boston Symphony (Victor Set 581, $5), or in his Variations on a Theme by Haydn as Weingartner does them with the London Philharmonic (Columbia X-125, $2.50), and let the symphonies ride.

Wagner I am a little doubtful about. His preludes, love-deaths and whatnot are played to death, while the superior writing in some of his operas stretches over so long a period of time that expense is a real factor. The Siegfried Idyll is a fair bet. It has often been recorded, but most successfully, I think, by Toscanini in an album of Wagner excerpts

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(Victor Set 308), in which it occupies records 14009 and 14010 ($2 for the pair). And there is also the Prelude and Good Friday Spell from "Parsifal" done in the calm, spacious style of Furtwangler and the Berlin Philharmonic (Victor Set 514, $3.50) which, though recorded some time ago, was released only this year. (No, Hitler won't get any of the profits; it's too late.) Unless you insist on one of Tschaikovsky's all-out orchestral works—in which case take Beecham's new recording of the Fifth Symphony with the London Philharmonic (Columbia Set 470, $5.50)—I would be content to let him rest on his pleasantly subdued Serenade for Strings played by Boult and the BBC Orchestra (Victor Set 556, $3.50). And to top it off, I would suggest one of the massive creations of Richard Strauss—say Ein Heldenleben, with Ormandy, the Philadelphia Orchestra and some good off-stage trumpets (Victor Set 610, $5.50). STANLEY FERGUSON

This is the first of several articles by Mr. Ferguson designed to help phonograph owners to build a small collection of records in the field of serious music. – THE EDITORS

A Communication

Education and Morale

SIR: Your recent proposal [September 29] for the establishment of an educational system for the armed forces of the United States did not, so far as I am aware, arouse enthusiasm among American educators, but I hope that you will not abandon your program for an educated army.

One of the saddest spectacles of our present defense effort is presented by middle-aged preachers, social workes, recreational specialists and educators striving to recapture and repeat those patterns of experience from the last war which they remember as having been pleasant or exciting. One must pity them as they now labor without response. Meanwhile, the significant lessons to be learned from this new war, this different war which we resist with our feelings although our minds tell us there is no escape, come from less sophisticated peoples like the Chinese and South Africans.

A few weeks ago another new university was dedicated in China and now comes word that a full-fledged educational system has been inaugurated for the army of South Africa. Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, has been appointed organizer-in-chief for the Union of South Africa of Schemes of General Educational Lectures to the Troops. The five university centers of the Union have been requested to coöperate. Courses are offered to men in training as well as those on active service, and the principal aim is to help these men "to win the peace as well as to win the war." Only qualified teachers are used and the professors serve as army officers. Courses offered include (a) political, economic and social problems, (b) the war, (c) health and physical training, (d) language and literature, (e) fine arts and music, (f) countries and peoples, (g) science, (h) psychology, (i) religion, (j) history, (k) African natives, (l) hobbies.

Among the interesting sub-topics are to be found: development of trade unionism in South Africa; democracy in theory and practice; mineral resources and war strategy; the continuity of the Greek spirit; soldier poets; the theory of relativity; who are the Aryans?; psychology of wit; Christianity as a basis of reconstruction, etc. "Subjects of a controversial nature, such as present-day burning political and social topics, religious and theological questions are not excluded, provided they are handled by lecturers whose competence and authority in these various fields are commonly recognized."

In past wars, when one set of citizens did the fighting and the remainder served as a cheering section, the problem of morale was fairly simple. In modern warfare there is no cheering section. We are all participants, but if morale is restored to the American people in time to save us from decadence, it will come, I believe, from those who take the major risks—the soldiers and sailors.

It will be again as it was in the Civil War when, according to Ralph Waldo Emerson, "the war . . . lifted many other people besides Grant and Sherman into their true places. . . . The war gave back integrity to this erring and immoral nation. It charged with power, peaceful, amicable men, to whose life war and discord were abhorrent." This "infusion of character" originated among the young and attained nobility through the moral determination of President Lincoln. It may be so again, provided the young men who defend us now are trained in understandings which transcend the mere techniques of destructive warfare. Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," it will be remembered, was centered upon truth, not victory, and what he said of the youth of the Civil War period applies with equal force to our time:

> They followed her and found her
> Where all may hope to find,
> Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
> But beautiful, with danger's sweetness round her
> Where faith made whole with deed
> Breathes its awakening breath
> Into the lifeless creed.

New York City EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

Postscript. – The above communication was written prior to the fateful events of December 7. The disaster which occurred at Pearl Harbor has served as a shock treatment for that peculiar disease known as isolationism. Many observers appear to believe that it has also unified the nation in such manner as to have overcome our lassitude, to release our energies. They seem to believe that morale will now become a function of the situation and that hence it is less important to plan for education.

I do not agree. The attack made upon us by Japan has made it necessary for us to fight Japan, but we do not yet understand why we have become involved in the total world war and for what ends that war is to be fought. The most commonly heard phrase heard in New York during the past week runs like this: "Why, those *yellow* bastards!" If the error contained in this epithet is not corrected, we may find ourselves engaged in a racial war, and the kind of peace which will thus emerge produces a shudder in my spine. Only yesterday I heard an educated American citizen say he was very much frightened by the Russian victory

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over the Nazis because he now feared that the time would soon come when we would be obliged to fight Russia.

These are perverse notions. If we carry them with us through this war, then we may as well make up our minds now to the horrible reality that this war is nothing more than a dress rehearsal for the war which is still to come. So far from letting down on education, I am prepared to say that I have never known a period in the whole span of our history as a people when we needed education as badly as at this moment. And as the war progresses, and the casualty lists expand, the need for insight and understanding will increase. The need will be universal, equally acute for civilians and soldiers, but if the soldiers don't get it, we cannot win the peace even though we win the war.

E. C. L.

The Bandwagon

All Men—The Harvard Committee Against Military Intervention announces that the meeting scheduled for Monday evening, December 15, at 7:15 o'clock, in Emerson A, has been postponed to Tuesday—same hour, same place—in order to permit members interested in enlisting in the Air Corps to attend the meeting on Air Training scheduled for Monday at 7 o'clock. – *From The Harvard Crimson.*

"A Woman Wrapped in Silence" (Macmillan, $2), by John W. Lynch, is the touching and human portrait in verse of the woman who was the Mother of Christ. The poem is based on facts. – *From The New York Times Sunday Book Review.*

It was reported that Mrs. Ed Angus tripped on an electric outlet for the new ornamental lighting system on South Williams Street, suffering two bruised knees. These will be covered up until the new posts arrive. – *From The Crystal Lake (Ill.) Herald.*

In a scathing denunciation of the democratic theory that admits the rank and file into America's colleges, Dr. Alvan E. Duerr, officer of the National Interfraternity Conference, called last night for "an intellectual aristocracy" nurtured in a highly selective fraternity system to provide leadership in the battle to save democracy.– *From The New York Times.*

And Mentally?

The congressional inquiry into the circumstances of the Japanese attack on Hawaii is off. The House Naval Affairs Committee held a secret session yesterday at which Rear Admiral Ross T. McIntire, Navy Surgeon General, testified. Then it was announced no more hearings will be held "for the present." It was announced that McIntire had told the committee that the navy is physically OK. – *From PM.*

If Any

Experienced Woman—Care of 2 children 1½ and 2 years, in own home, with sleeping privileges of Mother. Dial 7853.– *Advertisement in The Ithaca, N. Y., Journal.*

Reasonable-Doubt Department

PHOTO OF APE ON PASS ADMITS AN FBI AGENT
Official Tells of Laxity Found at Defense Plants
– *Head and subhead in The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Case for Rationing

SIR: In all the current discussion of price control there has been little mention of the word "rationing." Yet without rationing price-fixing is practically impossible. This is for the substantial reason that during war a nation's money income increases while its salable-goods income decreases.

For instance, it is expected that for the year 1942 this nation's income will exceed $100,000,000,000. Forty percent of this, probably, will be from the production of war supplies, which means that only $60,000,000,000 worth of goods will reach our markets to be bought with the $100,000,000,000 worth of income. (These are general figures used, of course, for their convenience in illustrating the point.)

Under those conditions to attempt to fix prices without rationing would be to put all the nation's business on a bargain-sale basis, with all the confusion and turmoil that attends that method of distributing goods.

The increase in money income derives from defense expenditures and it seems only economic good sense that it be returned to its source in the form of defense saving. Not, however, by the hit-or-miss method of urging the public to buy these securities voluntarily. That too often results in some buying more than they can afford, while others go on wasting much more than the socially conscious can save.

Holicong, Pa. BENJAMIN KIRSON

Death of a Phony

SIR: A unique Nazi-Jewish bastard recently died in the Reich, barely eight years old. Little notice abroad was taken of its exit. It was the Jüdischer Kulturbund, Jewish Cultural Organization, founded in Berlin in June, 1933, after Jewish-born actors and musicians had been "eliminated" from German theatres and concert halls, and "non-Aryans" had been forbidden to attend German *Kultur* institutions. Thus the Jüdischer Kulturbund had a twofold task: to provide employment for the ousted actors and musicians (and, in addition, for régisseurs, writers, lecturers, artists and technical staffs) and to furnish the Jewish "masses" with entertainment.

The Nazi Hans Hinkel was put in charge of supervising the Kulturbund and while the "legal" and "illegal" oppression of the Jewish minority went on in accordance with the scheme, set up in the party program, the authorities saw to it that their pet suffered no harm, except that the Jews were forbidden to stage "German" dramas and to play "German" music. Moreover, they had to prevent "Ayrans" from attending the performances of the Kulturbund—the artistic level of which frequently surpassed that of the Nazi *Kultur* institutions, although the more prominent Jewish artists had early left the Reich. On the other hand, so proud were the Nazis of this Kulturbund that high-ranking foreign visitors were shown the Jewish theatre as a proof of Germany's noble attitude toward her Jews, who were allowed to enjoy "full cultural autonomy."

Twenty-four hours after the wholesale pogrom of November 10, 1938, when Jewish homes were pillaged, synagogues destroyed and thousands of male Jews thrown into concentration camps, the leaders of the Kulturbund were forced to reopen their theatres. Strangely enough, the war did not stop, but only restricted, Jewish cultural activities, which in recent months amounted to no more than the showing of movies and occasional theatre performances and concerts.

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The end of the Kulturbund was to be expected, though. The victorious Nazis do not need it any longer as a means of confusing the opinion of the democratic world which seems to have put up with the extirpation of German Jewry. And the 250,000 Jews in Germany (which had a Jewish population of 560,000 in 1933), most of whom are aged, sick and destitute, will hardly care for artistic entertainment, facing as they do a very gloomy alternative: slow but continuous starvation for those allowed to remain in Germany, or quick "redemption" for those shifted to the "reservations" in Poland.

Incidentally, the Nazis are using *Kultur* as a smokescreen again. This time in Poland. They are now harping on the fact that they permitted the establishment of theatres, concert halls and libraries in the Warsaw ghetto—in the same overcrowded hell where under the Nazi regime almost as many Jews are dying in a day as had previously died in a month!

New York City ALFRED WERNER

For Winning the Peace

SIR: It surprised me to read on page 812 of your December 15 number the statement that "we shall no longer need the agitation of Fight for Freedom or other organizations, etc." Possibly you are right that America First has been liquidated by the Axis. We note that in applying for surrender of its charter, it endeavored to retain its name. Can this mean that this movement has only been driven underground, and that it will again rear its head under the same name after the present wave of patriotism begins to suffer from the necessary sacrifices? Your T. R. B., on page 827, seems to recognize such a possibility.

As a member of the executive board of Fight for Freedom Committee to Defend America (a local combination of the two committees) I am positive that our committee feels that their work has just started. It must be continued, because the people do not yet recognize that this is not just another war, but a world revolution. Even before the end of the military war, and certainly thereafter, we must impress upon our people the necessity for also winning the peace. There can be no isolationism if a just and lasting peace is to be assured, for America must do its full share of establishing and maintaining such a peace throughout the world.

St. Louis, Mo. F. R. VONWINDEGGER

[The New Republic had in mind the pre-declared war activities of organizations like Fight for Freedom. The need for organizations to pave the way for a post-war world in which, as Mr. vonWindegger says, isolationism cannot exist is an entirely different matter. – THE EDITORS]

A Statement

SIR: In the November 17, 1941, issue of The New Republic, at pages 637-8, under the heading "A Matter of Libel," you state, among other things, the following:

The case had its origin in a story written last April 17 by John O'Donnell, chief of the Washington bureau of the isolationist New York Daily News. Mr. O'Donnell said that American warships were secretly convoying supply ships across the Atlantic. The next day the interventionist Philadelphia Record ran an editorial called "A Deliberate Lie," referring to the O'Donnell story. On the basis of the editorial Mr. O'Donnell entered suit for $50,000 damages. Stephen Early and two Washington correspondents have since come to The Record's defense.

The foregoing contains incorrect statements. Mr. O'Donnell's story of April 17 did not, either expressly or in substance, say that "American warships were secretly convoying supply ships across the Atlantic," but, as you will see by reference to the story, stated in substance that information that American warships are giving armed escort to supply ships had been placed in the hands of Senators and would become a matter of public record in the Senate debate on the following day. This statement proved true, for on the following day Senator Tobey of New Hampshire did make such charges on the floor of the Senate and furnished information in support thereof.

It is not correct to say "Stephen Early and two Washington correspondents have since come to The Record's defense." The depositions of Stephen Early, secretary to the President, Robert S. Allen, head of the Washington Bureau of The Philadelphia Record, and Kenneth Crawford, formerly of the Washington Bureau of The New York Post and now of the Washington Bureau of PM, were taken on October 22, 1941, pursuant to an order secured by The Philadelphia Record.

Mr. Early's testimony was confined to relating his recollection of statements made to him by the President of the United States on the morning of April 17, 1941, and of statements made by him (Mr. Early) at a press conference later that same morning, the latter being accompanied by a transcript of the press conference.

So far as I know or have any information, Mr. Early simply responded, as would any other witness, to a request to testify to facts as he recalled them without any intent or purpose to aid or defend either party. As one of the attorneys for Mr. O'Donnell, and in his behalf, I ask that you make an appropriate correction in an early issue of The New Republic.

Washington, D. C. LOUIS G. CALDWELL

[Mr. O'Donnell's story in The News began as follows: "Charges that battlecraft of the Navy and Coast Guard are now giving armed escort to munition-laden British merchantmen leaving American ports for the European battle front exploded in the capital tonight."

While technically Mr. Caldwell is right, and we are glad to give space to his letter, we cannot feel that his point is of any importance. So far as we can learn, Mr. O'Donnell's charges had "exploded" nowhere else until after his story had appeared. – THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Sidney Schwartz of New York City feels that we are guilty of undemocratic thinking if we speak of punishing or not punishing the German people after the war. "Nazis talk of a Jewish race. . . . Shall we too speak of treating a nation as a living thing, composed of homogeneous masses? Shall we, as after the last war, punish Germany in such a way that the people are embittered and turn again to men like Ludendorff and von Papen, who escaped punishment?" Mr. Schwartz believes we must meet our responsibility even if it means supervision of the defeated nations for a few years and endorses Mr. Dawson's suggestion (The New Republic, December 8) for the establishment of a free German government.

Mr. Dawson, Mr. Schwartz and the other readers who wrote us concerning this question will be interested to learn of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace instituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which has planned a conference to be held at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, on March 3-5, 1942.

Eve Merriam, one of the contributors to "Writers Under Thirty" (The New Republic, December 8), sends news of a radio program called "Out of the Ivory Tower" which she is putting on. She plans to present each week a leading poet, the first of whom will be Mark Van Doren on January 8. Others already scheduled to appear are Horace Gregory, Muriel Rukeyser and Stephen Benét. The time is 2:30 to 2:45, Thursday afternoons, over Station WQXR.

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Books in Review

Roosevelt as Leader

WITH THESE FOUR VOLUMES of the Roosevelt state papers,[1] covering the second term, there are now nine volumes on my shelf. Four more are scheduled for 1945—if there is paper to print them on and a free world to read them in. In publishing terms Macmillan is luckier than Random House was when the first five volumes appeared. Those were the halcyon days of Roosevelt-hating, and the prestige of the author of the volumes was so low with those who could have afforded them that some booksellers did not dare display the sets in their windows, and many of them had to be remaindered later. But today there are salvos and hosannas. The fat boys applaud, and where there were once only venomous fangs there is now the adoration of the wise men. Even the Sunday Book Section of The New York Times had to drink the bitter tea of a long and sanely appreciative review: yet everything in it on the Court plan, the primaries "purge" and the program of social legislation ran directly counter to what The Times has been saying on these topics for years.

So much in the way of literary gossip. The more important thing is to estimate the volumes themselves. I like them. I like the way they look; I like the masterful way in which Judge Rosenman has edited them. Above all I am proud of a President whose public utterances, when collected and winnowed, are still so candid and add up so impressively and make so much sheer sense.

I shall not underline the obvious about how valuable these volumes and their companions will be to the historian, the biographer, the social theorist, the layman. This is a treasure trove from any point of view. What I do want to stress is that in these volumes, and particularly in the current batch on the troubled and perilous second term, one gets all the type problems of a crisis democracy—unemployment and its control, judicial obstruction, legislative obstruction, administrative reorganization, party treachery and realignment, improvisation and planning, sitdown strikes in labor and management, the hostility of the opinion industries, preparation for war in an era of total war. The President has dealt at varying length with these topics and many others in his excellent explanatory notes, which will be pounced upon by every student of our time. He has reserved for his four prefatory essays the themes which during each year seemed to top the others—in 1937 the Court fight, in 1938 the primaries battle, in 1939 the fumblings with neutrality, in 1940 the preparations for war.

Despite his defeat in the Court fight, the President's head is bloody but unbowed. He defends what he did, not only in objective but in method. The Constitution, the President quite rightly reasons, was not to blame for the judicial obstruction of the New Deal: it was flexible enough. Nor was the Supreme Court as an institution to blame. "The only trouble was with some of the human beings then on the Court." Their trouble was age, conservatism, stubborn hatred of the New Deal. Hence the plan. One confession the President does make—his method was at the beginning too slick, ingenious, evasive of the real issues. Or, as he himself puts it, he "did not place enough emphasis on the real mischief—the kind of decisions which, as a studied and continued policy, had been coming down from the Supreme Court." And while he says he expected the bitter fight that followed, one wonders whether he anticipated the deep roots of fear and insecurity in the popular mind which enabled the opinion industries and Congress to set themselves up as guardians of the constitutional symbols and turn opinion against the plan.

The other introductions are less striking, but no less important. The President writes a defensive essay on the primaries "purge" of 1938—an essay which, however, misses the crucial question of preparation and timing. The task of party alignment is one of the essential tasks of any program of social reform, it that program is not to become, as Mr. Roosevelt says, merely a "rescue party" for the capitalist oligarchy. Why did the President wait until the sixth year of his tenure before undertaking it? Why did he not, at the very beginning, start rebuilding his party organization from the bottom? When Mr. Roosevelt today faces a crucial test in Congress, there are few to give him effective support. When he leaves office tomorrow, there is no one to succeed him. Here is one of his great mistakes—not that he attempted a party purge, but that he went about it as a matter of improvisation, and not a matter of planning just as laborious as planning for agricultural prices or flood control or giant power in the Tennessee Valley.

I wish the President had done a long prefatory essay on the causes and treatment of the recession of 1937, and on the fight to lift the Spanish embargo in 1938 (this was one of his tragic indecisions), or on monopoly and economic strategy in a democracy, or on labor and collective bargaining, or on the armament economy and its control. But I know this is asking too much. For all the candor and courage he displays as a commentator, there is in the very nature of his job as President an inhibition to complete candor. For the commentator who is writing about the struggles of the second term is now a President in his third. One can with relative safety stir up the dying embers of the Supreme Court fight. But it would be dangerous to talk about the dollar-a-year men who today represent the obstruction to real national effectiveness that the Supreme Court majority represented in the thirties.

Yet despite these strictures, or perhaps because of them, the figure that emerges from these pages is that of a great crisis leader. What are the qualities of that leadership? The first is *malleability*. The President does not, Hegelian-wise and Hitlerwise, seek to *make* history in the image of his own will. He allows history to write its record on him. This does not mean passivity. It does mean that he knows

[1] The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Compiled and collated by Samuel I. Rosenman. With a special introduction and explanatory notes by President Roosevelt. New York: The Macmillan Company. 4 vols., $30.

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how to bend the state and himself to the imperatives of history—economic control, the social services, the administrative revolution, the strong military democracy. He represents statesmanship as adjustment. It is in this context that his sensitiveness to public opinion takes on meaning. And it is in this context that he has had to educate not only himself but the whole country to the meaning of the new forces loose in the world. One of the striking things about the verbatim transcripts from his press conferences that are the outstanding feature of these volumes is that they show Roosevelt as day-to-day educator. A press ticket for these conferences is an admission card to the most important classroom in the world.

His second quality is *resourcefulness*. This has long been recognized, although it has generally been called opportunism and showmanship. But whatever term we use, the important thing is the sheer skill of the man as political tactician, the inexhaustible armory of means for achieving whatever end he has set his mind on.

And he does have ends. This leads to his third quality —*his tenacity of purpose*. Despite mistakes of means, often catastrophic mistakes, there is a sustained thread of purpose running all through these volumes. Or perhaps two threads, between which the President has vacillated—that of making essential changes and that of holding on to essential traditions. Thus those who have called Mr. Roosevelt a revolutionary leader and those who have called him the great conservative of our time are both right.

But how has he stuck by these ends through all the years when men with lesser tasks have grown exhausted? Here is where his fourth quality enters—the sheer *buoyancy* of mood and manner that he has shown. Read the excerpts from the press conferences to get some inkling of this buoyancy. There is in it not only energy—Hitler too has energy, as has Mussolini: the essential quality is an affirmation of life and an enjoyment of life. His quips with the reporters are not just window-dressing. Anyone who knows the President will testify that they proceed from the whole man. For all their prating about life-force, the fascist leaders are starved and tortured men. For all their easygoing qualities, the anti-fascist leaders will fight effectively for life because they enjoy it.

But one must add the final quality of *authority*. There is joking and jockeying aplenty in these volumes but the President never forgets that he is President. He blunders and fumbles, but he always seems to know what he wants and how to get it. Amid general uncertainty the crisis leader must be the symbol of a quiet conviction, even when he is blindly guessing or wildly improvising. Tolstoy saw this, in his portrait of General Kutuzov in "War and Peace," and Scott Fitzgerald saw it, in his notes for Monroe Stahr, in his uncompleted novel, "The Last Tycoon."

Mr. Roosevelt has made mistakes. He has been far more accurate about social forces than his critics on the Right. But he has learned only very reluctantly from his critics on the non-Communist Left, who have themselves often been mistaken on tactics but who have by and large seen the conditions of democratic survival in our time. The final judgment of Mr. Roosevelt's leadership is being hammered out now—on the battlefields and in the workshops of the world front, in the minds of men the world over.

MAX LERNER

Low-Pressure Areas

Storm, by George Stewart. New York: Random House. 349 pages. $2.50.
Days Are as Grass, by Wallace McElroy Kelly. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 483 pages. $2.50.
Spenlove in Arcady, by William McFee. New York: Random House. 468 pages. $2.50.
Mad Grandeur, by Oliver St. John Gogarty. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 438 pages. $2.75.

IN THE RECENT crop of fiction, "Storm" is the most striking book, though hardly an impressive novel. It uses the "Bridge of San Luis Rey" idea with a centripetal method: a low-pressure area is reported by a ship in the Pacific, noted by meteorologists in San Francisco, charted as it gathers wind around it and moves east. Meanwhile the West Coast suffers from drought and farmers look at the sky in despair. Then as the storm grows larger and nearer at a terrific rate, and chances of its deflection recede, we go by hop and skip over the men a storm will affect and the goings on around them.

The trouble with this as a book which holds itself together is that none of these people becomes identifiable as a character, and almost none of them has any relation with the others. Then, too, in his long build-up of unrelated people and incidents, there are long stretches of exposition. Some of this is technical, complex and fascinating; some of it is gratuitous and at times annoying.

The best part of the book is the last part, where the storm sweeps in over the coast and the author finally drops the other shoe. The accidents that have been prepared happen, the water fills the dry earth, and changes to snow up the mountains and over Donner Pass. And there is a hell of a fine time with highway and railroad plows, linesmen on skis, spillways over dams, patrols on the levees as the rivers rise to flood height. By now the storm has lost its identity on the chart. By now it fills the world, and you get a fine glimpse of a whole system, of men and their machinery working in coördination and against odds, like an ant heap under glass. The author says his facts were checked by all the departments involved, and you can well believe he spent a crushing amount of time learning the theory and shop talk of each. (You can also believe he looked upon these institutions as sponsors, for nothing happens which is due to faulty machinery or negligence.)

"Days Are as Grass" is another low-pressure area, but without noticeable effect. Its story is of disintegration in the plantation class in the South between the Civil War and 1900, as shown in the several characters of a small Kentucky town. The philosophy of chambers of commerce gradually demeans the gracious spirit of living of a class gone bankrupt and breaking up in its second and third generations. We start with the sweet gayety of families of girls and boys to whom life is at once gentle and holiday. The group breaks up, as groups must, but there is an increasing hardness through the years, and for many of the characters an embittering gradual descent from ease to squalor.

The central figure is a girl with more character than most, but the book is long enough to show her degeneration into a shrunken and drunken old woman in a mansion full of pride and bats. And while I believe the general story

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to be accurate in relation to the general trend, the long list of people who were born mean or turned mean provides a monotony of darkness which the few actual happenings of the story cannot dispel. The background stuff is good, when there isn't too much of it; and the book was planned and written with every care save for the reader. For the reader, it doesn't come to life and takes forever doing it.

William McFee is a novelist whose tough seasoned fiber and stubborn integrity somehow manage to pull the thing off where in many artistic ways it has fizzled. In "Spenlove in Arcady" his ship's engineer has retired to a place in Connecticut and an Indian-summer love affair that catches the crusty old homespun philosopher off balance and tumbles him into several rather odd encounters with the sub-literary life of writers for the slick magazines and the films.

The humanity is genuine and the ironic comment is there—though it usually comes the hard way ("confected cinematographs"). Spenlove's reflections are sound and also endless. And the lyric quality of Spenlove's wooing often walks in felt boots: "She responded with a glance of grave ecstasy." None the less he keeps you going through 468 pages to the finish if you can have patience, largely I believe because the Chief is essentially the kind of man to have the back of his hand for you if you can't. Better be sure than sorry, he says, and smokes his pipe at your impatience or demand for literary flash.

Oliver St. John Gogarty has in "Mad Grandeur" done a job of hokum which is also history in spite of itself, because the author is a mad Irishman, and because there was never a literary Irishman who didn't know more of the unknown history of that country than ever he knew of the known chronicles of the civilized world. He goes back to the time of the French Revolution, with émigrés flying into any country, when Dublin itself seems aptly similar to the Paris of, say, Villon, and when between the high-living gentry and the government's rabbit warren of bureaucracy and the starving, surly crowds of common people, it was worth a man's life to go anywhere at all.

His history is probably sound, and his picture of the troubles is balanced, as from the right of both sides. But his framework is the old swash and buckle and God's blood and everybody riding around hell-for-leather and dicing and roaring and rescuing, and all. It ends in the peasants' revolt, in their last bid for the support of the French, and a bloody noble shambles it is. But it isn't much of a study of that revolt, for Mr. Gogarty set himself to write a thriller. The good people are sticks or snobs; the fair ladies are both dull and relentlessly virtuous. The snides, high-rollers, hoydens and rough lads are the characters of the book, but are there as appendages merely. Being an Irishman is obviously a full-time job at the top of your voice. But the art of just being that has become so fine and sonorous in development that I think that this "Scaramouche" without Scaramouche is livelier reading than the solid approaches of the others current, so I do.

There isn't one of these four which wouldn't be better for the cutting of 25 percent. What we need is better publishers—I don't mean more absolute, but better in the sense that they can see these dun piles of old hat and file them either in a face-saving appendix or the rubbish bin. Authors too quickly assume that because their work is labor, the reading public ought to share it.

OTIS FERGUSON

Poetry, with Character

The Metaphysical Sword, by Jeremy Ingalls. New Haven: The Yale University Press. 80 pages. $2.

JEREMY INGALLS writes, usually, with unusual restraint and precision. Some of her longer poems run on a bit too long; she might still curb her adjectives, especially those ending in -ed; she is fond—too fond?—of the imperative mood. Perhaps this is a carry-over from school teaching, an occupational hypertrophy; Miss Ingalls might be more guarded here, and remember that it is easier for the writer to sustain than for the reader to endure the admonitory tone, and that it may, as in her "Letter to David," become a little embarrassing to overhear. But whatever its defect of tone, this poem, for its statement, was necessary to include in the collection; I wish, however, that Miss Ingalls' critical faculty, which is excellent, had led her to reject one poem, "The Grail," or at least label it more definitely for what it is, an outright imitation of Hopkins. Otherwise this collection is fine, clean work, admirably arranged, and warmer in temperature than you might think on first reading.

Miss Ingalls' temperament, as revealed in these pages, curiously combines the artist and the teacher, the sensible and the sensitive, the Yankee and the Catholic. She affirms her conviction that it is incumbent on people to love God, and man through Him:

> That child, lag-wit or agile mind, who learns
> The name of God, the synonym of love,
> Nor pride nor fear shall have more power to harm.
>
> I say this plain. Of every strenuous word
> In weighty volumes ponderously shelved
> In each address, all artful eloquence
> Of those adept in the enchanted phrase,
> Take heed. Read. Listen. There is much to learn.
> But strictest thought and deepest sense pertain
> To the honor of God. Do not shun His name.
>
> . . . Pose my blunt question. In the heart of man,
> What power best moves him to the love of men?

When she talks to her children thus, she is, like many teachers, more sure as to what must be done than how it is to be done. A nice question for the doctors: whether love is better taught by precept or example. And there are other nice questions, too, for those who aspire to combine pedagogy, art and religion. A work of art, no matter what Mr. Van Wyck Brooks may say in his more maudlin moments, is an act of faith; but the devotee must remember that the converse is not always true. Then, to be strict without being unkind or obtuse; to be affectionate without crossing the line into sentimentality; to be proud as an artist and humble as a saint—all this takes energy, exercise, discipline. As Miss Ingalls knows.

Mr. Stephen Benét's introductory opinion that "she is nearer to such poets as Herbert and Vaughan than to Pound or the Eliot of 'The Hollow Men'" seems to me quite irrelevant. To place Miss Ingalls in a sphere of attraction thus (I think he either did not really mean it, or does not know much about Vaughan or Herbert) is to give too little credit to her determined originality. She has read, I should surmise, Hopkins (as Mr. Benét says), Yeats, Eliot, Auden,

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Marianne Moore; admired them, and been influenced by them; there is not the least sign that she has ever been given pause by the sloppy, the eccentric, the fashionable, the pretentious or the inane in contemporary writing. Mr. Benét comes more to the point when he observes that this poetry is not a poetry of escape. Miss Ingalls is fully aware of evil, its presence and pressure in the modern world, but she believes it imminent only, not ultimate: her volume closes on the poem called "Perspective":

> My Lord God Christ, but these are evil times.
> Hunger and pride have bred us. Who is mild
> Will meet his bullet sooner. Who will give?
> The humble man's inheritance of earth
> Is now scant promise. Can you now restore
> The blackened fields to harvest? Better soon
> Than late to die. Redemption is no more.
>
> Time of this earth. Wait. Not late but soon.
> Hardly the sun has moved. The time is still
> The crucifixion. It is barely noon.

Of most first books, especially in a series of younger poets, it is usual to say, they show promise. I should think it hard for Miss Ingalls to surpass the performance of "The Metaphysical Sword"; I doubt that she will renounce the fascination of the difficult. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Performer Renewed

Martha Graham: 16 Dances in Photographs, by Barbara Morgan. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 160 pages. $6.

IN THEIR COMMENTARIES both Mrs. Morgan and Miss Graham remark the plain fact that a dancer's art is finally a perishable one. These 130 pages of pictures "true to the laws of inspired photography" hold about as permanent a record as there can be of "the essential emotions" of Miss Graham's greatest dances. For her the photographs represent "what is seen on the stage," thus revealing "facts of feature, bodily contour and some secret of the dancer's power." The kinetic theatre experience is suggested but never really reproduced. But many, who for all or part of her fifteen-year career have been held by Miss Graham's art often without quite knowing why, will find caught in these action flashes and stills a further explication of that "power" than ever was possible in the currents of performance.

In the last years it has become increasingly clear how wholly theatre-aimed Miss Graham is and, even in apparent truancy, has always been. Now, she is best understood when contrasted with other performers who, from their especial situation, like the poets, musicians, designers from theirs, have been working as deviously as persistently for the last forty years to effect the renewal of our theatre. Yeats saw early that to actualize his new stage-vision he needed a group trained in "music, dance, poetry—the three arts which imitate by rhythm." A discipline as severe as ballet's, Eliot asked ten years before he knew precisely what he did require of his performers. Copeau with his Company of Fifteen; Stanislavsky and his exponents in America, Richard Boleslavsky and Francis Fergusson; Jasper Deeter and the Hedgerow Community; these and lesser men have labored to create groups properly skilled to show again full theatre, as it has been and might again become. This book, not only in its photographic study of developing bodily control, use of drapery, integration of setting, but also in the prose accounts of the dancer's life, experiments with music, her "programs" and scenarios, proves how centrally Miss Graham stands among the most thoroughgoing theatre explorers of the century.

The others, however, redesigned their stages, devised curricula and "techniques," worried over communal living patterns, and used as vehicles what they could of old plays and such new ones as turned up. But Martha Graham started and has never moved far from herself, the body in motion; but that has been put into the service of a personal discipline so fervent and deep-lying that she has tapped those levels where technician and creator fuse, where the person and the performer are morally and religiously one. "Motivation establishes center of gravity" . . . "center of gravity induces coördination" . . . "coördination means dominion of spirit-of-body over body's parts" . . . "spirit-of-body is the state of innocence that is the secret of the absolute dancer." And from Gordon Craig: "Affectation appears in dancing only when the soul, motor force, is situated other than at the center of gravity."—"The state of innocence is gained by eating of the Tree of Knowledge." One recalls Emerson and Margaret Fuller at the dance recital. "Margaret, this is poetry." "No, Ralph, this is religion." Miss Graham is a tenth-generation New Englander herself.

To even the best Broadway actors or the acutest little-theatre sensibilities, such a focus toward one's work will sound like the artiest horse-feathers yet. But the attitude cannot be divorced from its products. And in "Letter to the World," "El Penitente," "Punch and the Judy," "Frontier," "Primitive Mysteries" we experience again that "sounding out of ecstasy, crude and orgiastic . . . austere and great light behind figures and imagery" which Stark Young believes exists nowhere else in our theatre today.

The truth is, that Martha Graham with an integration that finds its like more often in historical figures than in the history of the arts—or in border cases like D. H. Lawrence, Fra Angelico—has moved through, singly and in small, to the theatre we have all been seeking. That this would be implemented with all the theatre arts was long ago apparent. The Christian plays of Eliot, the occult dramas of Yeats, the Greco-surrealist "miracles" of Cocteau, the Leftist work of Toller, Auden, Odets, have increasingly made clear that the new theatre would again approximate to ritual. The mirror of life, the amusement all for our delight, would at last be shattered, and performer and audience would be involved alike in some final "seeing." But Martha Graham has gone on ahead. She tested the limits of dance and added music, color, words as necessities. Comically and tragically, in contemporary and historical masks (knowing how they are one), she has shown us active personality in its connectedness, human and indefinable.

Many times before the theatre has renewed itself from ritual, and the first to traverse the intervening ground have always been the performers. In a necessarily new set of circumstances, but in the old way, Martha Graham is bringing the theatre around to its full renewal: the performer become once more the possessed seeker after life.

SHERMAN CONRAD

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Medical Pioneer

William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine, by Simon Flexner and James Thomas Flexner. New York: The Viking Press. 539 pages. $3.75.

THIS IS the moving and warmly human story of a great physician and a very great American, a biography which spans nearly a hundred years of memorable achievement in virtually every department of medicine, and reveals the lovable bachelor, "Popsy" Welch, as one of the truly epic figures in the scientific and cultural development of the United States.

Dr. Simon Flexner, who came as near as anyone to intimacy with Welch, has, with his son (also a doctor), succeeded in writing a brilliant companion-piece to Harvey Cushing's "Life of Sir William Osler." This is appropriate, for both men are inseparably linked with the creation of the world-famous Johns Hopkins Hospital and School of Medicine. For Dr. Welch association with "The Hopkins" never ceased from the time he accepted the newly established chair of Pathology in 1884. During the next fifty years there was not a major development in the medical sciences anywhere in the world that was not reflected in or originated by his many-sided genius as administrator, clinician, historian, research specialist, public-health authority and educator.

The greatest single factor in the life of this extraordinarily productive descendant of American country doctors was his conception of medicine as a discipline exacting the last ounce of intellectual integrity and technical proficiency. It was his passionate and unflagging belief in the importance of exact knowledge that very early set Welch's feet on the path to Europe; and it was from his strenuous labors under such masters as Cohnheim, Ludwig, von Recklinghausen and Koch—to name only a few—that he formed the basis of his own great knowledge. Deeply concerned with the shallow empiricism and provincialism of American medicine in the nineteenth century, yet convinced of its enormous possibilities for fruitful development, the young Dr. Welch dedicated himself to a herculean task. This was virtually to create in a raw new country a medical tradition that might in time lead the world—without ever ceasing to learn from it. This is the keynote of his life as so sensitively portrayed by the Flexners.

From the bewildering array of Welch's triumphs (the list of honors, decorations and medals which he received alone runs to four closely printed pages) it is difficult to make any representative selection. The entire field of medical education might well come first, with the successive introduction of higher academic standards (including a grudging acceptance of coeducation!), of courses in public health, bacteriology and many other specialized subjects. The revolutionary idea of a "research hospital" employing full-time clinicians was introduced by Welch at Johns Hopkins—where also, in his later years, he established a great medical library and the Institute for the History of Medicine now directed by his protégé, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist. In the wider arena of public affairs, Dr. Welch was instrumental in developing the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, of which he served as a director for nearly a generation; he fought the anti-vivisectionists to a standstill in the far-from-gay nineties; agitated constantly for more and closer relations between the physician and the laboratory; and during the First World War served with distinction wherever pain and suffering called him. And once, when there was need of money for a new ophthalmological clinic, Dr. Welch spent a morning interviewing three very wealthy men in New York City. He returned with $600,000—and the great Wilmer Institute was launched on its way.

If, to all these impressive accomplishments we add that Dr. Welch had a passion for detective stories, flowers and night-prowling; that he hated to open his mail, organize his private papers and was a constant problem to innumerable devoted landladies—we get at least a silhouette of the remarkable man who spent his last few weeks lying in Johns Hopkins Hospital, diffidently asking if he was being a trouble to his doctors. When a devoted colleague, Dr. L. F. Barker, questioned him about the universe and human survival, Dr. Welch—whose immortality was richly assured among men—chided him gently, remarking that one could, of course, refer such things to God, "but then you got no further."

HAROLD WARD

Opened by Mistake

A Second Treasury of the World's Great Letters. Edited by Wallace Brockway and Bart Keith Winer. New York: Simon and Schuster. 636 pages. $3.75.

THIS MONUMENTAL COLLECTION OF LETTERS that are really no business of any third person's, affords the overcurious the opportunity of raking through the scandals, the clandestine relationships, the false faces and the old coals of the private lives of the great. From the spectacle of Cicero desperately endeavoring to put a respectable front on his mugwumpery to that of Stanley Lupino wrapped in a tattered Union Jack at the height of the Great Blitz; from the grand-opera gestures of Elizabeth threatening to unfrock a bishop for not surrendering his palace to one of her favorites, down to the death note of Virginia Woolf—through all this posturing and ranting and speechifying and declamation, one tremendously important element moves and exonerates: it is the gift of memorable speech. For the acts of deception, chicanery and treachery that the human animal succeeds in committing seem partly to be expiated if excused with eloquence: thus many of these letters, recording incidents or experiences at which the normal human might forgivably hesitate, speak in such language that the ignominious takes on an aspect of the noble, the shabby an aspect of humility, and the inexplicable temporarily convinces. I think particularly of the quixotic rectitude of Sir Walter Scott, loaded with a bankruptcy of about £130,000, declining an anonymous offer of £30,000 as "very odd"; or of the "delightful and amusing" letters that Lewis Carroll sent to his "little girls" because Sigmund Freud was too young to advise him not to; and of T. E. Lawrence coiling disgustedly up within himself at the filthiness of the conversation at his military camp. And through all this I observe that the only letters that I personally read with pleasure are those clearly intended only for the recipient. This is because the correspondence of, say, that prince of the epistle, Horace Walpole, leaves me as cold as old newspapers. He merely

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pulls public faces in private places: "I have nothing very new to tell you on public affairs," he opens one letter, "especially as I can know nothing more than you see in the papers." One should be relieved and grateful that the Walpole tradition, in which friends "inscribe" letters to one another, with the right elbow on a pillar and an eye on the hereafter, is, save for the official academicians of literature, completely discredited. Or are there still correspondents in remote places who begin letters to young women: "I am rich in letters from you: I received that by Lord Elgin's courier first, as you expected, and its elder the next day. You say mine entertain you: *tant mieux.*" If there are, I suggest that they study the letter of Elizabeth's mentioned above. It reads:

Proud Prelate:

You know what you were before I made you what you are now. If you do not immediately comply with my request, I will unfrock you, by God.

Or the letter-as-proclamation of Joan of Arc that opens:

King of England, and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the realm of France, you William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, John Talbot, and you Thomas, Lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said Bedford—

Submit to the King of Heaven.

For the best letters in this collection have, finally, the common characteristic that they communicate something worth the communication. Lamb describes his sister's act of matricide; Dante refuses the abrogation of his exile because the conditions are too degrading; Galileo reports the discovery of four new planets; Napoleon asks sanctuary of the English after Waterloo; Coleridge describes the paroxysms of the drug addict: these are the subjects that move the writers to speak in terms whose passion and immortality no one could subsequently doubt. These letters are not the embroidery of a boring existence, as I have an idea Walpole's were; they are not the self-conscious exchange of immense platitudes, as was the famous correspondence between those two aged admirers of Walpole, Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock. But the letter I think is the noblest here is the note left by Virginia Woolf at her suicide, and it was written because it had to be.

GEORGE BARKER

Contributors

MAX WERNER's latest book is "Battle for the World: The Strategy and Diplomacy of the Second World War."

H. N. BRAILSFORD is widely known as a writer on history, economics and international affairs.

CHARLES ABRAMS, a New York lawyer and lecturer at the New School for Social Research, is a former counsel to the New York City Housing Authority, consultant to the United States Housing Authority, and the author of "Revolution in Land."

RICHARD LEE STROUT is a Washington correspondent.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, poet and critic, has completed a new book of verse, "Out of the Jewel," which will be published by Scribner's next spring.

SHERMAN CONRAD is a teacher of English at the School of Letters, University of Iowa. He has contributed poetry and reviews to The Nation, Poetry, The Saturday Review of Literature and American Prefaces.

HAROLD WARD contributes articles to various periodicals on the subject of the social implications of science and technology. He is the editor of an anthology, "New Worlds in Science."

GEORGE BARKER is a young English poet now living in this country. His "Selected Poems" was recently published by Macmillan.

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The Red Army Advances

From the first day of Hitler's War on Russia MAX WERNER writing in the pages of The New Republic has been constantly and unwaveringly right. No other military authority on the Russian campaign or any other major Axis operation, has a record to equal it. Max Werner writes with the precision of an informed mind and the deep conviction that arises from full possession of the facts. His articles, excerpts from which appear below, are evidence of the superior kind of reporting readers have always found, and will continue to find, in The New Republic. *See page 883 of this issue for Max Werner's latest chapter.*

Can Russia Hold Out?

(July 7, 1941)

The Russo-German War is the great continental war in which land army and air force will be the decisive elements. It bids fair to be the greatest war of movement and matériel that has ever been seen. . . . At the beginning of the war some five million men have been mobolized in the Soviet Union, and these may be expected to yield some two hundred new divisions. The Red Army has more tanks, too. Soviet and German air power is about numerically even. Germany is certain to be stronger in heavy artillery—but this is no longer a leading arm today. . . . In all likelihood the Soviet tank arm is in no way inferior to its German counterpart. Any German advantage in quality is likely to be slight.

Can Russia Strike Back?

(July 28, 1941)

At the beginning of the war the proportion at the front was about 1.5 to 1 in favor of Germany. But the Red Army at the front is receiving a constant influx of reserves, chiefly from the northern Caucasus, from the Volga and from central Russia. To this must be added the uninterrupted series of mobilized divisions. At the conclusion of mobilization the numerical proportion may well be 2 to 1 in favor of the Red Army. . . . The test of the Red Army's quality will come only when it proves or disproves its capacity for launching a counter-offensive.

The Secret of Russian Resistance

(August 18, 1941)

The excellent war techniques of the Red Army have been the first surprise of the Russo-German War. It can no longer be doubted that the Russian airforce, the Russian tank arm and artillery are very much up-to-date. Germany's Wehrmacht can boast of no decisive technical and qualitative superiority over the corresponding units of the Red Army in any branch of its armed forces—not even the Luftwaffe. . . . So far the German successes have not been attained through the technical superiority of German arms. They sprang from the advantage of the strategic initiative seized by the Wehrmacht with the invasion, and still more from the numerical superiority of the German Army, fully mobolized at the outset over the semi-mobilized Red Army. . . . It must be clearly kept in mind what the Red Army means to the anti-Hitler coalition as a whole. It is an army that is modern instructure, with strong fire power and great mobility, tactically efficient, strategically realistic, and possessed of a tremendous offensive potential.

Where the Allies Can Strike

(August 25, 1941)

The Anglo-Soviet coalition is a military structure altogether different from the Anglo-French coalition of yesterday. . . . The problem of the war of coalition is not merely relief for the Soviet Union. The decisive factor is the liberation of the Red Army's offensive power which must be realized in the interest of all Hitler's enemies. This offensive power exists and it can be freed. . . . In the Far East, too, this problem of the war of coalition may be opened up in the near future. . . . The real interests of the Anglo-Saxon powers and the Soviet Union furnish a compelling motive for common action in the Far East.

How Much Has Russia Lost?

(October 6, 1941)

Soviet armament industry power is more favorably situated than heavy industry and the machine-building industry. The distribution of Soviet war industry does not coincide with the so-called "regionalization" of Soviet industry as a whole. War industry has been pushed eastward to a far greater degree than industry in general. The Germans have seized virtually no Soviet armament industries. . . . If Leningrad, the Donets Basin, Kharkov and Rostov hold out, the economic war strength of the Soviet Union will, on the whole, be maintained.

Fight for Moscow

(October 20, 1941)

So far none of the decisive German objectives has been attained. And now in October, with the German troops already at the gateway to the Donets Basin, the direction of the crucial German offensive has again shifted toward Moscow. . . . In ever growing measure the battle of Moscow is absorbing the most powerful forces of the belligerents. In this battle, now already two weeks old, the element of surprise is no longer effective. The crucial factors are the power of arms and the endurance of the armies. Hitler himself has accepted the responsibility to see to it that this time the battle shall bring final victory. Never before has he borne so grave a responsibility to his own army.

A Second Front Is Possible

(November 10, 1941)

A British Expeditionary Force on the Russian front would be limited both in numbers and material. At best it might raise the number of German casualties by some tens of thousands. . . . The military prerequisite for such a situation is Anglo-Saxon control of the Mediterranean and of North Africa. Anglo-American naval cooperation is the task of the hour. The continental power of the Third Reich cannot be beaten on the seas, but it can be encircled from the sea.

Prospects for the Red Army

(November 17, 1941)

The Soviet-German war is proving to be a long one and the Soviet Union is the ally of the democracies for the duration. The struggle will be carried on, even should Moscow and the entire Leningrad-Moscow-Donets Basin line fall. The Soviet Union is quite capable of waging war behind this line. East of the Leningrad-Moscow-Donets Basin line there is a population far in excess of 100,000,000, with important economic resources. . . . The Russian war plan undoubtedly proceeded from the intention of forcing a protracted war on the Third Reich, of waging the first phase of the war defensively, of exhausting the enemy and then preparing the counter-offensive. . . .

Moscow and Rostov

(December 15, 1941)

The Russo-German war has for the first time revealed the face of modern war, as waged between two powers, one of which is not incomparably stronger and is not the predestined victor. Battles are no longer fought along lines, but in depth, and there is obviously much greater room for movement. . . . When the Russians defeated General von Kleist at Rostov, they defeated the most successful of all the German tank armies. . . . Quite apart from Rostov's strategic importance, this victory of the Red Army is doubly important. It has shown that the famous German tank divisions are not invincible. One reason why the test of strength in Libya is of particular interest is that there the question is to be settled whether limited German tank forces can be beaten by the British tank arm. Now Rostov has proved that the German panzer divisions can be defeated.

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GOOD NEWS!

The swift-paced headlines of the past three weeks bring hopeful tidings from the frost-bitten Russian front to enslaved and embattled peoples everywhere. After absorbing the full impact of the greatest military drive in all history, the Russian army is proving that it can *give* as well as take. From the Baltic to the Black Sea, the hitherto invincible legions of Hitler are being forced into reverse gear.

Every realist knows that the eastern European front is by all odds the major battle line in the world struggle against aggression. Our own government recognized it months ago when it voted to extend lend-lease aid to the U.S.S.R. Now that we are at war against a common enemy, the wisdom of this policy is amply demonstrated by the course of events.

Every one of us has good reason to be grateful for the heroism and bravery of Russia's soldiers and civilians. *Every one of us* is indebted to them for the sacrifices they have made and are now making. The road to victory is long, hard and bloody.

That's why thousands of American women are knitting war garments for Russian fighters. That's why tens of thousands of American citizens are contributing toward the purchase of urgently needed medical and surgical supplies.

The response to the cause of Russian War Relief is most heartening. But the need is so far-reaching that we must *double* our efforts and *redouble* our giving. If you have given once, *please give again*. If you are giving for the first time, please use the coupon below to make your contribution . . . and make it as generous as you can. Your dollars will be front-line fighters in the cause of human freedom!

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